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JPRS-EER-86-027

27 February 1986

East Europe Report

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COOPERATION COUNCIL UNIFIES CROP, ANIMAL PRODUCTION EFFORTS

East Berlin KOOPERATION in German Vol 19 No 12, Dec 85 pp 555-557

[Article by Werner Krix: "Goal: High Increase in Performance and Effectiveness"]

[Text] Experience of the Cooperation Council of the Redefin Plant and Animal Production in Performing Managerial Functions

Years of experience of the cooperative farmers of the Redefin LPG plant production and of the LPGs animal production of Redefin, Belsch, Goesslow and Goldenitz were the basis for further development of cooperative work.

Based on the decisions of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee for the further perfecting of management, planning and economic accounting in socialist agriculture (20 June 1983), and further deepening of cooperation relations (18 October 1983) as well as the material production achieved, the Redefin cooperation council was given managerial functions as of 1 January 1984.

In preparation, the cooperation agreement and cooperative regulations were revised. The collectives discussed openly which proven cadres should be delegated to the cooperation council. In December 1983, all LPGs held membership meetings for the purpose of newly electing the cooperation council, passing the cooperation agreement, and transferring obligations and powers to the cooperation council. All activities aimed at

1. Achieving a high performance increase in the Redefin cooperation council through comprehensive intensification and utilization of production and effectiveness reserves with the lowest possible use of funds;
2. Establishing balanced proportions between plant and animal production in accordance with economic requirements and possibilities;
3. Overcoming still existing differences in the performance level, particularly in the LPGs of animal production.

Work Method and Tasks of Our Cooperation Council and Its Commissions

In accordance with our LPG law (article 12), the following tasks and powers were delegated to the cooperation council:

Survey

Production conditions of the Redefin LPG plant production, the LPGs animal production of Redefin, Belsch, Goesslow and Goldenitz of the Cooperation Redefin, kreis Hagenow, bezirk consultation center for SRW

Agricultural area	4,720 ha
of this, grassland	1,340 ha
Irrigated area	1,300 ha
Natural unit of location	D2
Number of fields	28
Number of animals of the LPGs:	
Total number of cattle in total	3,805 heads
of these, cows	1,395
Total number of pigs	6,095
of these, sows	498
Sheep	455
Poultry	145,000
RGV (1 RGV= 500 kg live weight of domestic animals feeding on coarse fodder)	2,583
FGV	3,461
Plant production workers/100 ha agric. area	3.2 full employment units
Animal production workers/100 FGV	5.8 full employment units
Own agricultural product of the cooperation	
Total, in grain units/ha agric. area	35.4
Plant production yield (1984)	
in grain units/ha agricultural area	41.0
Animal production yield	
(Own production 1984) in MFF/FGV	2.03

-
- Establishing the yield and performance goals in plant and animal production, determining the crop ratio, the structure of livestock, and the production volume of the LPGs on the basis of the national economic plan and the amounts determined by delivery and performance agreements;
 - Promoting the performance development of the individual cooperation partners and of the cooperation as a whole; guiding all LPGs to a high level of production and effectiveness and, based on that, a uniform system of remuneration and premiums for cooperative farmers;
 - Planning and implementation of coordinated measures of scientific-technical progress;
 - Planning of investments;
 - Forming joint material and financial funds, and their disposal;
 - Perfecting socialist business administration; developing and using agreed-on prices; organizing mutual assistance in manpower, technology and funds;
 - Determining measures for the reproduction of society's labor pool, particularly training and continued education for cooperative farmers;

--Solving tasks to improve working and living conditions and to develop intellectual and cultural life in the villages.

The party group of the cooperation council is responsible for political and ideological leadership and cooperates closely with the base organizations of the LPGs, in coordination with the council of party secretaries. It has proven effective to give appropriate tasks to the party activist group of the cooperation in preparing important work stages.

The cooperation council's work centers on management of the uniform reproduction process of plant and animal production, divided by labor, and its comprehensive intensification. In this task, it relies on the following management documents:

- Cooperation agreement and work regulations;
- Annual work plan of the cooperation council;
- Cooperation plan;
- Joint program of competition;
- Intensification concept with long-term programs for effective soil use, development of animal production, and fodder economy;
- Program for reconstruction and efficiency;
- Program for the development of pasture farming;
- Concepts of highest yield and highest performance.

In order to ensure effective work of the cooperation council, it proved to be necessary in Redefin to form the commissions on a new basis. At present, the following five commissions--directed by proven cadres--assist the cooperation council:

1. Fodder:

Fodder planning, cultivation and distribution, supply and performance agreements;

2. Planning and Accounting of the Reproduction Process, Scientific-technical Progress:

Planning and accounting, performance comparison, fodder effectiveness, development of livestock, crop cultivation, operational regulations, statute, fixing of norms, supply and performance agreements;

3. Socialist Competition and Economic Relations:

Joint competition, plan preparation, fulfillment and surpassing, fixing of norms;

4. Reconstruction, Efficiency Measures, Investments, Innovation:

New construction, remodeling, expansion; proposals for improvements, prospects;

5. Working and Living Conditions, Reproduction of Society's Labor Pool, Individual Household Management:

Social policy measures, vacation and recreation, qualification, attracting manpower, intellectual and cultural life.

In the task force "Chief bookkeepers," all chief bookkeepers of the LPGs are active, assisted by the staff of the Bank for Agriculture and Foodstuffs Management.

It proved to be advantageous to have all resolutions drafted by the commissions (in the form of presentations) and to vote on them after collective discussion in the cooperation council.

The principle of unanimity has prevailed, since the legal independence and economic self-responsibility of the LPGs are preserved in cooperative work.

The experience of the cooperation council has confirmed the necessity for constant contact with the partners. Important criteria are observing the accountability of the cooperative farmers delegated to the cooperation council by the board members and membership meetings of the LPGs, and controlling implementation in the LPGs of the decisions made by the cooperation council. Participation by members of the cooperation council in all LPG membership meetings, in brigade meetings and consultations, as well as cooperation with the local people's representatives and their community councils create a broad work basis.

The cooperation council and its commissions meet every 4 weeks for consultations (only the commissions for fodder, socialist competition and economic relations meet at shorter intervals). Extended meetings are held on central tasks. LPG chairmen meet every week.

The chairman of the cooperation council ensures constant cooperation with state authorities, social organizations, economic managerial authorities and scientific institutions.

Upon the decision of the SED bezirk management and the council of bezirk Schwerin, in 1984 the Redefin cooperation was appointed the bezirk consultation base for socialist business administration. Its major tasks are:
--Developing and evaluating the major indices for performance comparison;
--Stimulating and organizing an exchange of experience (within the cooperation and beyond).

Results of Cooperative Work

The cooperation council considered as one of its foremost tasks the overcoming of unjustified differences within the cooperation. The analysis made for this purpose deals with the highest values achieved and their purposeful evaluation and generalization, directed toward a forward goal.

On the basis of highest achievements in the LPGs of the cooperation and new scientific findings, we concentrate on using its benefit for securing the reproduction of soil fertility of every field, efficient organization of processes and technologies in plant and animal production, improved organization and management of work, complex application of the principles of socialist business management, and the lively conduct of socialist

competition. On this basis we discussed production-effective distribution and use of funds down to the level of brigades and work collectives. This brought reserves to light. For this reason, the long-term development concept until 1990 also foresees structural changes for some partners as to the direction of production--for example, increasing the number of cattle in order to effectively use the accruing crude fodder and to ensure expanded reproduction of the organic substance of the soil. With the 1984 plan, first steps were taken to lower the differences in the yield and performance level through presetting the yield and performance goals in the LPGs of the cooperation. This proved effective. Working with highest yield concepts per field and highest performance concepts per stable, the preset parameters were surpassed. In 1984, a balanced ratio between plant and animal production was reached. Its result was that self-supply was achieved in the case of crude fodder as well as fodder concentrate. This enabled us to set demanding goals for 1985 (Tables 1, 2 and 3). The plan provides for location D 2 a gross production of 41.5 grain units per hectare of agricultural area. Livestock production for slaughter is to be increased by 6.1 percent, and milk production is to rise to 3,500 kg per cow. In the competition, the cooperation council focuses on surpassing these performance parameters. Through concentrating scientific-technical progress on certain important areas of plant and animal production, we succeeded in stimulating personal interest more strongly (socialist competition, performance comparison, moral and material recognition, respectively). Work methods with a three-stage system of control (on the spot, weekly, monthly), accounting of performance parameters by using a point system obligatory in the cooperation, and strict enforcement of order, security and discipline also proved effective.

In addition to the previously mentioned functions, our cooperation council was also given powers in the financial sector, namely

--Influencing fund distribution according to the plan offered by the LPGs. This ensures that cooperatives developing a demanding plan draft are covered by funds as far as feasible, whereby none of the LPGs are put at a disadvantage. Ongoing control through comparison of plan and actual figures, and performance comparison on a monthly basis during the production year guarantee that current corrections are possible in case of non-observance of the production parameters.

--Formation and use of the following joint funds:
investment funds,
reserve funds,
funds for stimulating performance.

This accomplished that measures were carried out to bring partners with weaker performance, such as the Goldenitz LPG, to the level of the stable LPGs, in the interest of all. In the LPG mentioned, for instance, two stables for bulls were changed over from liquid manure to straw. This improved stable conditions and daily weight gain, and through the production of quality fertilizer, it created preconditions for better yields on our light soils. Investment funds were used for changing construction of the pig sties in Goesslow, expansion of the forage economy

(240 days of grazing use with minimal losses of fresh fodder; savings of diesel fuel) and other things (enlargement of the fertilizer storage areas).

Since 1981, we have managed to lower considerably the differences in animal production (Table 3). From the joint fund, cooperation performance comparisons were stimulated (Cooperation performance milking, fair of the masters of tomorrow, intensive grazing management, etc.). For 1985 and 1986, the cooperation council aims at an even faster transfer of scientific-technical progress into production. For this reason, we shall further intensify cooperation, which has proven its value since 1980, with scientific institutions such as the Institute for Socialist Business Administration in Boehlitz-Ehrenberg, the Guestrow-Guelzow Institute for Plant Growing, the Martin-Luther University of Halle and the Scientific-Technical Center in Schwerin. At the center of this work are, in particular, the complex processes of soil fertility, the keeping of field records, further perfecting work with the concept of highest performance in animal production through utilizing stable performance records, and the use of modern processes in raising animals. It is obvious that economic recording of the usefulness of scientific-technical progress holds a priority place in our cooperation. With regard to optimal use of our office computer A 5120, however, we wish for even better support by the Institute for Socialist Business Administration in Boehlitz-Ehrenberg.

Overall we can say that, in the Redefin cooperation, the transfer of managerial functions to the cooperation council has resulted in applying more rapidly the decisions of the party and the socialist state relating to comprehensive intensification of the agricultural reproduction process, in strengthening the relationship of trust among the partners of our cooperation, and in producing more steadfastly and effectively. As a result, life in the villages has become richer, social relationships have deepened. In the 40th year of democratic land reform we are particularly proud that we succeeded in achieving the highest yields and performances in animal production to date, as our contribution to strengthening the republic.

Table 1

Yields in the LPG Plant Production Redefin 1981/85

Type of fodder	Area	% AL	Yields 1981/84 dt/ha	Plan 1985 dt/ha	Goal 1986 dt/ha
	<dt=quintal>				
Grain	2,150 ha	64	28.7	29.0	32.0
Potatoes	600 ha	18	204.7	230.0	235.0
Field fodder, irrigated	202 ha	6	568.0	580.0	580.0
Beets/ turnips	44 ha	1	651.0	715.0	708.0
Corn	206 ha	-	376.0	360.0	375.0
Grassland	1,340 ha	6	270.0	303.0	306.0

Table 2

Development of Performances in LPGs of Animal Production

Unit of Quantity		1981/84	Plan 1985	V-actual 1985	Goal 1986
Market production of milk	kg/cow	2,987	3,070	3,325	3,126
Increase in feeder weight					
Pigs	gram/day	384	457	460	470
Cattle	gram/day	536	599	600	615
Calves raised	head/100 cows	97.5	100.6	102.0	106.0
Heifers produced in quality I and II	%	70	65	66	68
Raised piglets per sow, as of first litter	head	18.9	19.5	19.6	19.6

Table 3

Development of Major Indices

	Own Product		Net Product		Rate		Profit	
	MEF/fgv		M/VbE		%		M/fgv;M/ha	
	GE/ha							
	x	Plan	x	Plan	x	Plan	x	Plan
	81/84	1985	81/84	1985	81/84	1985	81/84	1985
LPG Redefin (Plants)		39.50	25,659	38,600	83.8	75.9	373	758
LPG Redefin (Anim)	2.05	2.08	18,859	28,804	90.8	83.5	471	1,109
LPG Belsch (Anim)	2.08	2.10	23,781	35,018	85.4	80.5	754	1,315
LPG Goesslow (A)	2.20	2.33	20,640	36,385	90.8	81.5	443	1,254
LPG Goldenitz (A)	1.95	1.98	17,431	24,412	97.3	90.4	122	545

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CSO: 2300/138

GDR PROVIDES SOVIETS WITH ELECTROENERGY TRANSMISSION LINES

Rostock OST-SEE ZEITUNG in German 18 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Klaus-Peter Steger: "World's Largest Energy Link Tested on GDR Installations"]

[Text] In an exhibition held recently in Berlin on the Soviet energy industry, the model of what is at the present time the largest energy link in the world aroused general amazement. The pylons of the 1.5-million volt long-distance power line in the Kazakh SSR resemble giant triangles, with one corner touching the ground. Soviet experts managing the exhibition explained that this unusual, and so far internationally unique design, conserved material and ground surface area and brought a high degree of reliability and stability.

This AC overhead powerline stands about 45 meters above the ground, while conventional high-voltage masts are only one-half as tall. The new energy link will connect the power stations at the periphery of the giant Ekibastus open-cast coal mine with the Urals city of Chelyabinsk, about 1,235 km away. Construction collectives recently reached the city of Kustanay. This completed the erection of about 1,000 km of line.

Experiment for 5 Million Volts in Preparation

The transmission of enormous electrical currents was also tried out and tested on installations and apparatus from the GDR. Designers and workers from the Herman Matern transformer and X-ray works in Dresden (TUR), along with scientists and students from the electrotechnical section of Dresden Technical University, played a special part. They developed a 7-million volt impulse voltage generator for the experiments at the Mikhail Kalinin Polytechnic in Leningrad and a flood of transformers for testing of design elements up to 2.25 million volts. With these plants, the experts from the city on the Neva reproduced the previously unique field effect of an electric power line with a 3-million volt current. A current path of this type could accept an amount of energy equal to 10 times the terminal output of the largest Soviet hydroelectric generating station at Sayan-Shushenkoye, which is now under construction (6,400 megawatts). But even this does not mark the uppermost limits for overhead lines. As the head of the experimental laboratory in Leningrad, professor Georgi Alexandrov, explained in a recent interview, experiments are in preparation with a current of 5 million volts.

He had a very positive opinion about the collaboration with the experts and friends in the partner city of Dresden. He said that not least of all the jointly developed test equipment had made it possible to break the 1-million volt barrier. The result of this cooperation, which is difficult to miss, is the roughly 30-meter high generator. The "electrical heart" of the test field generates the voltages necessary for the Leningrad experiments. At the present time, the VEB TUR, which is part of the Automation Sytem Construction Combine, is working on the development of an AC current test system intended for open-air operation with a current of 3 million volts.

The people in Dresden also have a permanent address in Moscow: The Institute for Direct Current Research NIPT. It was there that they supplied, for example, a pulsation current test system with a peak value of 1.6 million volts.

Requirements on work in the field of electrotechnology will continue to grow, both as a result of the Soviet Union's energy program and also of the energy plans of the CEMA countries.

In the USSR the long-distance transmission lines are intended to help to overcome the disproportions in the distribution of fuel resources. About three-quarters of the country's energy production are used in the European part. However, four-fifths of all energy sources are in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Far East. The transmission of electrical energy is also considerably cheaper than transporting fuel in solid, liquid or gas form.

"Interelektro" Coordinates Cooperation in Research

Annually 40,000 megawatts can flow along the 1,500-kilovolt AC high-tension line, generated by the 5 thermal power stations of Ekibastus into the Urals, to Siberia and into the European part of the country. The first power station is already supplying current.

International cooperation in CEMA is concentrating mainly on material- and cost-conserving designs, the reduction of energy losses, on equipment for protection against overvoltages and on optimal testing equipment. Work is being coordinated primarily within the international economic organization "Interelektro," which was established in 1973. Its program for dividing up work in high-tension technology made a substantial contribution to the success of the Kazakh super-energy line.

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CSO: 2300/133

GDR ECONOMIST DETAILS STRUCTURE OF SOVIET ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

East Berlin SOZIALISTISCHE FINANZWIRTSCHAFT in German Vol 39 No 6/85
(signed to press 21 Oct 85) pp 20-22

[Article by Dr sc Werner Poloschek, Humboldt University Berlin, economics section: "Complex Economic Analysis in Combines and Factories"]

[Text] Goal, Structure and Course of a Complex Economic Analysis to Improve Business Management and Increase Effectiveness

In the handbook of the director of Soviet association of producers (combines), an important place is given to the economic analysis of the effectiveness of business activity within the system of management, planning and business accounting. It is directed primarily at uncovering reserves to improve business management and to increase effectiveness of society's production, and supporting the development of demanding plans and their fulfillment as well as maintaining state discipline. (Footnote 1) (Lexikon des Direktors der Produktionsvereinigung und des Betriebes, Vol 2, Ekonomika, Moscow 1985, p 393) It is used to constantly perfect management, planning and business accounting and to provide purposeful guidance to workers in the battle of implementing an economical system. .

At present, there are over 100,000 offices for economic analysis in USSR industry, which involves over 750,000 engineering and technical personnel, production workers and employees.

Economic analysis must deal with the following tasks in particular:

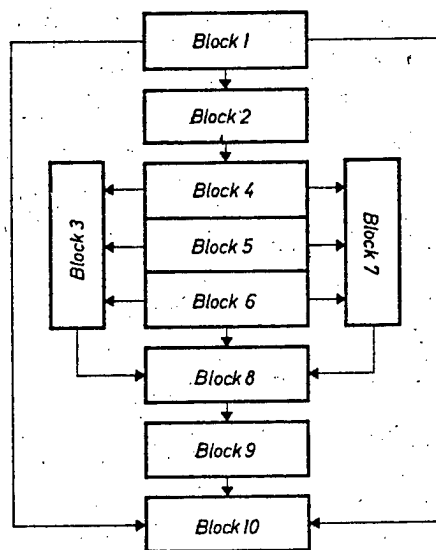
- Studying economic facts, occurrences and factors and their causes,
- Appraising the effectiveness of business activity with regard to plan fulfillment and the technical-organizational standard of production,
- Scientific substantiation of plans, control over establishing realistic plans and their fulfillment,
- Uncovering reserves in the factory, studying and generalizing advanced experience for the development of exacting obligations and plans,
- Preparing measures to use reserves, eliminate the causes of unsatisfactory work, and control implementation of measures to improve work.

Comprehensive and Universal Analytical Penetration

Complex economic analysis is seen as a comprehensive and all-round analytical penetration of individual sides and results of the business

activity of a combine or factory, in order to continue studying them systematically, to analyze the reciprocal relations of indices and factors, and to uncover reserves in individual factors as well as in the overall results of labor. The basis for carrying out a systematic complex analysis is a study model, to examine information about individual elements of business activity within the total system, and the influence of processes within this total system on individual branches and components, respectively. A general system was developed, containing 10 blocks as components of objects of analysis, classification of factors and indices which are part of individual blocks, and formalized connections (dependencies) between indices and blocks of the analysis.

The analysis differentiates between internal and external factors of influence on business accounting. External factors are caused by other enterprises, organizations and control authorities. Internal factors are categorized as major factors, additional (supplementary) factors, and factors resulting from an infringement of state and business discipline. The major factors determine the results of labor in complete accordance with the principles of business accounting. The supplementary factors do not depend directly on the work of the factory collective (for instance, with regard to the costs of goods production per ruble, changes in structure or line of goods production). Differentiated analysis of the influencing factors means to present more clearly those factors mainly influencing business accounting, so that the performance of the enterprises can be rated more precisely and that the funds for material stimulation can be formed and used accordingly.



General outline of structure and course of the complex economic analysis (the designations of blocks 1 to 10 are made clear in the explanation of structure and content of the analysis)

Structure and Content of the Analysis

Block 1 - "Complex survey of generalized indices of production and business activity" - is the starting point of the complex economic analysis and records primarily those indices which reflect in a complex manner the business activity of the industrial enterprise. These indices are first of all used to rate production and business activity in general, particularly judging the quality of management decisions. In the last block (Block 10), these findings are used for an overall rating of work and effectiveness of economic stimulation, in the sense of combining performance rating and economic stimulation.

Overall, the indices of Block 1 are used to appraise the work of the factory collective in general, and the causes and factors determining the level of the indices are generally registered and characterized.

Block 2 - "Analysis of the technical-organizational levels of production, as well as quality of production" - is an important basis for analyzing the effectiveness of the management and production structure of the combines and factories. Relations between output figures, such as goods and net production and number of production and management personnel, are established. Block 2 also contains the analysis of the production organization (level of specialization, cooperation, continuity, etc.) as well as an analysis of the technical standard of production, such as degree of novelty and quality of production, degree of newness of technology and equipment, development of mechanization and automation, energy intensity of the equipment, etc.

Block 3 - "Analysis of production indices in terms of material and value" - characterizes volume, structure and quality development of production. At its center is the analysis of plan fulfillment of actual goods production and its guarantee according to delivery and performance contracts, analysis of the development of net production, production range of goods, exports, cooperative performances as well as quality and complaints regarding the products or services, respectively.

Block 4 - "Analysis of utilization of fixed assets and equipment performance" - focuses on the development of the output-capital ratio index. Simultaneously, the effectiveness of investments and production program during the planning period is studied. In addition, it is also an analysis of the technical condition of fixed assets, utilization of shifts and release of manpower due to new or further developed equipment.

Block 5 - "Analysis of material-technical supply and utilization of material resources" - is geared to the analytical study of the utilization of material, raw materials and energy, supply of types of material during the plan period, development of material intensity, waste, and the norms of material use.

Block 6 - "Analysis of the indices of labor expended" - registers the development of work productivity, the relation of growth of goods production and work productivity, release of manpower, ensuring the man-

power potential, utilization of work hours, the reciprocal relation of the tempo of work productivity increase and the development of average wages, etc.

Block 7 - "Analysis of prime costs of production" - contains the analysis of costs of goods production per ruble, the development of the influence of cost categories, prices and range of goods on total prime costs, and a utility value cost analysis.

Block 8 - "Analysis of profits and earning power" - consists in examining the developed plans with regard to actual goods production and profit, and listing the factors influencing the development of profit and earning power.

Block 9 - "Analysis of financing machinery and turnover of circulating capital" - includes the development of circulating capital and its financing sources and the development of liquidity (solvency) as current and expected solvency.

Block 10 - "Overall rating of activity and analysis of the effectiveness of economic stimulation" - is closely linked to Block 1, as previously explained.

Responsibilities of Analytical Work

Analytical work is the on-the-job responsibility of managers and workers; it penetrates all areas and departments. Overall analyses of the economic activity in combines and factories are executed by the offices for economic analysis and laboratories for economics and organization of production, respectively. The directors for economics (chief economists) determine the precise division and definition of the tasks of the on-going analytical work in the combines and factories. In general, it is based on the following system of obligations for complex analysis in the areas of the associations of producers:

Block	Executants (the person or department listed first is responsible for coordination)
1	Director of economics, laboratory (office) for economics and organization of production, planning and economics department, central bookkeeping
2	Director of economics and chief engineer, department of new technology, production department, departments of the chief design engineer, technical control, material-technical supply, office for construction and testing
3	Department of planning and economics, production department, quality control, sales department, financial department, economic areas of production sectors
4	Production department, department of chief mechanic, department of planning and economics including technical areas

- 5 Director for material-technical supply, material supply department, department of completions, production department, department of planning and economics, technological areas, central bookkeeping
- 6 Department of work organization and wages, economic areas of production sectors
- 7 Department of planning and economics, economic offices of production departments, central bookkeeping, technological areas
- 8 Director of economics (chief economist), department of finances, sales department, central bookkeeping, department of planning and economics
- 9 Department of finances, central bookkeeping, department of planning and economics
- 10 Director of economics (chief economist), laboratory (office) for economics and organization of production, department of work organization and wages, central bookkeeping, department of finances.

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GJYZARI REPORTS ON 1985 PLAN FULFILLMENT, 1986 PLAN

AU270501 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jan 86 pp 1-3

[Report delivered in the name of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, to the People's Assembly in Tirana on 13 January 1986]

[Text] Comrade deputies, the examination and approval of the 1986 draft state plan and budget by this session of the People's Assembly coincides with one of the most memorable events in our people's history, the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. All our people came to this jubilee with great pride in the victories attained, with the most profound gratitude for the party and its legendary leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the architect of the new socialist Albania, with a steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, and with firm confidence in the even more brilliant future awaiting them.

The draft plan for the country's socioeconomic development and the draft state budget for 1986 are a testimony of the heights to which the party has raised socialist Albania.

In the light of the analysis carried out by the party at the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum, allow me, comrade deputies, in the name of the Council of Ministers, to report in a concentrated manner on the fulfillment of the 1985 plan and to present for examination and approval the major tasks of the 1986 draft plan and state budget.

I. On the Fulfillment of the 1985 Socioeconomic Development Plan and State Budget

The year 1985 was a year of the most profound grief because our party and people lost the most beloved person, their most beloved leader, the founder of the party and of the people's power, Comrade Enver Hoxha. But as Comrade Enver Hoxha himself educated and tempered them, the party and the people turned their grief into strength, raised their mobilization and fervor at work, which erupted more strongly than ever, particularly on Enver Days and Week, in honor of his 77th birthday. This unprecedented mobilization and fervor at work of the masses, under the party's leadership,

were among the decisive factors which--despite the numerous difficulties of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and the heavy blows dealt by the severe winter and the drought to some key sectors of the economy, as in agriculture and the hydro-energy sectors--made it possible for our economy to progress, showing once again the superiorities, stability, and vitality of a socialist economy which knows no spontaneity and anarchy, crises and competition and other traits that are characteristic of the economies of the bourgeois-revisionist capitalist countries. Even in these conditions, relying entirely on our own efforts, the extended socialist reproduction was ensured in an even larger dimension, the productive forces were further strengthened, and the socialist production relations were further improved through a more rational utilization of the labor, material, and financial resources. On this foundation, the material well-being and cultural standard of the working masses was preserved and further raised, and our country's defense potential was further steeled.

These are considerable victories proving once again the correctness of the party's Marxist-Leninist economic policy and Comrade Enver Hoxha's immortal teachings. They constitute a guarantee that even more rapid progress will be made in the country's socialist construction, relying entirely on our own forces.

The 1985 industrial sector plan was fulfilled or overfulfilled with regard to some important products like coal, chrome, copper, natural bitumen, bituminous sand, in the engineering and timber industries, with regard to numerous consumer commodities, and so forth. Despite a noticeable limitation in the use of electricity and the shortage of some agricultural raw materials, the creative and innovative thinking of the working masses uncovered new reserves and, by better work and stricter control in the use of energy resources and raw materials made it possible, despite the fact that not all planned targets were reached, to achieve a perceptible increase over 1984: 3.2 percent more chemical fertilizers, 34 percent more soda and polyvinyl chloride, 9 percent more fabrics and textiles, and 9.6 percent more knitwear. There were considerable increases also with regard to some foodstuffs, various metallic and electrical consumer goods, in the production of small articles, handicraft goods, and so forth.

The volume of agricultural production was 2.2 percent higher than in the previous year. There was, in particular, an increase in wheat production, with an increase of 2.3 quintals per hectare over the previous year, thus achieving, for cotton too, the highest yields ever attained in our country for these two crops. Compared with 1984, better results were attained in 1985 for tobacco, vegetables, and sunflower, while the production of beans nearly doubled. The 1985 achievements for field crops once again proved the correctness of the party's line concerning the development of agriculture and the effectiveness of the comprehensive and constant measures adopted to make it as independent as possible of weather conditions and to constantly strengthen the cooperative system in the countryside.

The continuation of the change that began to be made recently with regard to the increase in the number of heads of livestock was a particular trait in 1985. As a result of the considerable increase in the production of vegetables, market supplies in the cities and in the countryside were more abundant throughout last year, and particularly so during the second half of the year.

Lushnje, Elbasan, Vlore, Sarande, and Permet Districts distinguished themselves particularly for a better organization of work, mobilization, and good overall results in the fulfillment of the planned tasks in agriculture. Fier, Berat, Durres, and other districts also attained good results with regard to certain crops.

On the basis of increased output and the improvement in the effectiveness of the accumulation created by the economy for its own development and that of the social-cultural sectors, a total of 4.3 billion leks were invested during 1985 (at the price levels set for the eighth 5-year period). The concentration of funds and other assets made it possible to build and commission over 120 production and social-cultural projects of considerable importance, including the first turbine of the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Power Plant at Koman, the Shkoder-Han i Hoti and the Fier-Vlore railroad lines, the extension of some chrome, copper, and coal mines, the construction of some new factories and production lines for the food processing and construction material industries. New refrigerators and some livestock-raising complexes were built, and so forth. The irrigation capacity increased by an additional 7,400 hectares. In addition to numerous schools, health service institutions, and so forth, about 9,500 new apartments were built. In addition, construction work has continued on some other important projects. Fruitful results were attained in implementing the tasks set out by the AWP Central Committee to raise the effectiveness of investments. Efforts were made to simplify designs, to avoid excessive and premature constructions, to design lighter buildings, and to replace construction materials that are in short supply with local and less expensive materials.

While struggling to execute the tasks set by the 9th and 12th AWP Central Committee plenums to improve the efficiency of the economy, the material base of production was utilized according to a strict regiment of thrift and considerable savings were effected with regard to investment funds and other financial and foreign currency assets of the state. Thus, despite the nonfulfillment of the tasks in some branches of the economy, the state budget was capable of financing the development of the economy and of the social and cultural sectors without interruptions and measures were adopted to strengthen the country's defense potential.

The results in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the economy created the necessary preconditions to create new places of work for the increased active population, primarily in the sphere of material production and in other social activities. Implementing the instructions issued by the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers devoted special care and took appropriate measures to ensure that the difficulties created in

the economy would not affect the well-being of the people. In fact, the standard of living of the working masses did not fall; on the contrary, it was further improved.

Compared with 1984, the turnover of commodities increased. Six percent more meat, 4 percent more edible fats, 3 percent more sugar, 8 percent more vegetables, 20 percent more fruit, and 13 percent more knitwear, metallic goods, electrical goods, and so forth were sold to the population. Communal services also increased by approximately 8 percent and the needs of the urban and rural population were better met. The tasks in the education, culture, and health sectors were also well fulfilled in general. The immediate assistance of the state and the solidarity manifested by the entire population in helping to overcome the consequences of the extraordinary winter in the northern regions were a further reflection of the party's great solicitude for the people.

All these results acquire even greater value if we take into consideration the very difficult conditions in which they were achieved. As was stressed by the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum, the year 1985 provided us with a great experience in meeting difficulties and in resolving the numerous and complicated problems of the construction of socialism relying on our own forces; in finding out, mobilizing, and in better using the reserves and possibilities continually created by our socialist system. The year 1985 also taught us how to improve the method and style of work of the state and economic organs so that the organization and management at every level of the economy, from the central departments down to the grassroots, should better correspond with the mobilization, enthusiasm, and revolutionary drive of the masses.

While appreciating the achievements, the Council of Ministers has critically analyzed the nonfulfillment of the planned tasks in some important sectors of the economy. In addition to the deficits created in the production of electricity by the hydroelectric power plants owing to the prolonged drought, the shortcomings in the extraction of oil and gas have had consequences for the economy. In these sectors the material-technical base has not been used with proper efficiency owing to shortcomings and weaknesses in the organization and management of the enterprises and institutions responsible for this vital sector of the economy, including the Ministry of Energy itself. The Council of Ministers has adopted measures and is consolidating its effort to ensure a radical change in this sector.

On the basis of the good results attained with regard to a number of agricultural products even in the difficult weather conditions that prevailed in 1985; on the basis of the fulfillment of tasks and the high yields attained by hundreds of brigades, agricultural units, and even entire districts, the Council of Ministers has reached the conclusion that the reasons for the nonfulfillment of the planned tasks with regard to corn, potatoes, sunflower, sugarbeet, and some other agricultural products must be sought in the weaknesses in the organization and management of the work of various agricultural economies, the district people's council executive committees, and the Ministry of Agriculture. The poor

results in the districts of Lezhe, Kruje, Korce, and Gjirokaster are due primarily to the insufficient work in carrying out zootechnical measures and in implementing technologies, the failure to properly resolve problems pertaining to drainage and irrigation on time, and the failure to achieve the stipulated crop density and to utilize the material-technical base with the desired degree of efficiency.

The transportation sector has also not properly met the planned tasks, the work has not been steady and weaknesses have occurred in the technical state of readiness of vehicles, entailing the responsibility of the Ministry of Communications and its dependent organs.

The Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry should have better utilized the possibilities to increase the production of consumer commodities with raw and other materials from local resources and technological waste, particularly with regard to small and very small items, while the Ministry of Industry and Mines should have done better work in improving the quality of the products of the engineering industry and the Ministry of Domestic Trade, in improving the quality of the service in public catering, these being weaknesses for which the district people's council executive committees also bear their share of the responsibility.

Analyzing these nonfulfillments, the Council of Ministers has also determined its own responsibility, has reached conclusions, and has set out tasks and concrete measures to improve its own method of work, as well as that of other ministries and other state and economic organs, and will make every effort to raise the mobilization and sense of responsibility of every level on management to ensure the all-round fulfillment of the 1986 tasks.

II. The Main Tasks of the Draft Plan for Socioeconomic Development and the 1986 Draft State Budget

Comrade deputies, the draft state plan and budget that the Council of Ministers is presenting for examination and approval at this session of the People's Assembly after securing the approval of the AWP Central Committee, has been drawn up on the basis of the party's guidelines and of the achievements so far, and particularly the experience gained in 1985. Efforts have been made to incorporate in the draft plan the initiatives and creative thinking of the working masses to the fullest extent possible, their proposals to increase the volume and range of products, to reduce costs, to improve quality, to raise the efficiency of the economy, and to achieve technical-scientific progress. In setting out the tasks and the quantitative, technical, and economic indicators of the plan, the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly have rendered valuable assistance with their proposals and suggestions.

The 1986 draft plan incorporates considerable tasks, but they are real and essential. It assures correct paces and ratios between the various aspects of the extended socialist reproduction, better reflecting the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism. The draft plan is well documented and is generally better coordinated with the material and technical base.

A general characteristic of this draft plan lies in the relatively high rate of increase of the social product, which will be 9.5 percent higher than in 1985, while the national income increases by 10.6 percent. This will be primarily achieved through a more rational utilization of the existing production capacities and the further strengthening of the regiment of thrift in the utilization of energy resources, imported raw materials and those in short supply, as well as through a more highly efficient use of accumulation in the field of investments and in expenditures in the nonproductive sphere in order to consolidate the foundations for a successful fulfillment of the entire Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The total volume of industrial production is expected to increase 7.3 percent over 1985, the increase in the production of the means of production retaining priority. The development of industry and other sectors will be supported by a more rapid development of energy products.

To ensure the fulfillment of tasks in the oil and gas industry, whose production will increase approximately 18 percent over 1985, measures will be adopted and implemented to increase the number of wells, to carry out intensification work of high quality, to more broadly implement secondary methods and new technologies in the existing fields, to increase the extension of these fields, and to concentrate labor and means in some new areas, applying the method of actions more extensively. It is the duty of the Ministry of Energy, of the people's council executive committees in Fier, Vlore, Berat and Lushnje districts, and of the oil industry enterprises and institutions to raise the organization and management of the work in this key sector to a much higher level through science, discipline, and a stricter control, and to make more efficient use of the existing material and technical base now available to them, which will also be further extended in the current year.

The Council of Ministers has charged the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Construction, and the Ministry of Communications with giving priority to the fulfillment of their tasks to support the fulfillment of the oil plan and of the energy industry as a whole.

The country's energy base will be further consolidated when the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Plant at Koman is put into full operation. The perceptible increase in the production of electricity is based on the rational and scientific utilization of water resources, including the smaller and local plants, as well as on the full utilization of coal-operated thermal power plants. The increase in coal production is expected to be achieved almost entirely from existing mines. More efficient measures

will be adopted to preserve the quality of coal during its extraction and transportation, as well as to increase its calorific value through enrichment and selection.

The mineral extraction industry will develop in accordance with the needs of the processing industry and to increase exports. Chrome extraction is expected to increase 2.9 percent, copper extraction, by 9 percent, coal extraction, 4.2 percent, and so forth. To ensure the stipulated quantities and quality of extracted minerals, measures have been adopted to further raise the state of readiness of the mines and to strengthen organization and scientific discipline at work. The Ministry of Industry and Mines and the respective district authorities have been charged to adopt and implement concrete measures to ensure, in good time, the material and technical base, the necessary labor force, to carry out technical and scientific studies, and so forth, in order to ensure the smooth fulfillment of the increased tasks that have been planned and to meet all problems that may arise in the future in good time. In the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical sectors, improvements are expected to be made in the structure, stressing high-grade steels and thin copper wires, in addition to increasing output.

The engineering industry will aim at mastering the production of new spare parts, particularly those for the transportation sector, at extending the production of equipment to mechanize labor processes, and producing new machinery for various projects. Concrete measures have been adopted for production concentration, specialization, and cooperation in this branch, where weaknesses and shortcomings still exist. The Council of Ministers will also emphasize a higher quality of engineering products, this being one of the main ways of achieving increased efficiency in this branch.

Production in the chemical industry is expected to increase by 6 percent and will better support the fulfillment of the tasks in the agricultural sector and other sectors of the economy. The timber and construction materials industry will also better meet the demands of the economy and of the people.

The tasks stipulated for an increase in the production of consumer goods incorporate more fully the party's instructions to increase the production and range of such goods, and to improve their structure and quality in order to better meet the growing needs of the people. Through a better utilization of existing production capacities and the construction of new lines and factories, the food industry will be better able to process agricultural and livestock products more quickly, in good time, and with better quality.

On the basis of the achievements up to now and as a result of the large investments that have been and are being made, the volume of agricultural products stipulated in the 1986 plan will increase about 17 percent. The most important task remains that of increasing grain production 13 percent

in order to better support, also, the production of milk, meat, and eggs. In addition to consolidating and further increasing wheat yields, more complete measures will be adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture, the districts, and agricultural units to implement technologies intended to increase corn yields, which are stipulated at 57 quintals per hectare in the plains and 28 quintals per hectare in the hilly and mountainous regions.

Various analyses and data show that high corn yields have been achieved wherever proper attention has been paid to it as a highly-productive and efficient crop. Vlore, Sarande, Shkoder, and other districts, as well as a number of agricultural units like the Dajc and Bushat cooperative in Shkoder District, the Peze cooperative in Tirana, the Gose Agricultural Enterprise in Durres, the Levan Agricultural Enterprise and the Bishan agricultural cooperative in Fier District, the Llakatund Agricultural Enterprise and Novosele cooperative in Vlore, the Vrine and Vurgu Agricultural Enterprises in Sarande, and others, have achieved yields of over 70 quintals per hectare on the entire acreage sown with this crop by applying and generalizing the experience gained and raising it from one year to the next.

Increased yields are also expected for cotton, sunflower, rice, sugarbeet, and so forth. Concerning tobacco, the Ministry of Agriculture and the districts will center their attention on increasing yields and improving quality. With regard to this crop, production is expected to increase 50 percent over 1985, with the acreage being considerably extended.

Implementing the party's instructions to improve the supplying of the population, the Council of Ministers has stipulated special measures to increase the production of potatoes, vegetables, and beans. In addition to improvements made in the structure of the crops sown and in increasing yields, the acreage sown with these crops will be extended. The Ministry of Agriculture, the districts, and the various economic units have been given the task of increasing the variety of vegetables and of extending their production throughout the year.

In order to better meet the needs of the population, the production of milk is expected to increase 12 percent, compared with 1985, the production of meat will increase 7 percent, the production of eggs by 18 percent, and so forth. This will be achieved by increasing the number of livestock, as well as yields. With regard to the implementation of the decisions of the AWP Central Committee Politburo concerning the livestock sector, the Council of Ministers and the agricultural organs will pay particular attention to consolidating and extending the livestock fattening stations, to creating small herds in sections devoted primarily to field crops and horticulture, and particularly to special measures to be adopted to increase the yields of forage crops and natural pastures, as well as to measures making for a better utilization of the by-products of agriculture and the food processing industry.

The attainment of the objectives to increase the number of livestock and to raise yields in 1986 requires the study and generalization of advanced experience everywhere, as well as the extension of new technologies in livestock-raising and in production, such as those used in the Maliq cooperative, in the Gose and Roskovec agricultural enterprises, in Sarande, Tepelene, Pogradec and Lushnje districts. The livestock sector is beginning 1986 under not very favorable conditions. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to adopt all measures and to utilize all possible reserves in order to meet the situation without damage to cattle and without incurring shortages in the early months of the year.

The development of transportation will better match the needs of the economy and of the people. Railroad and coastal transportation will continue to be given priority, and their volume is anticipated to increase by 10.4 percent and 35 percent respectively. Efforts have been made to ensure a more rational distribution of large scale commodities, to eliminate duplicate routes, and to reduce costs. The Council of Ministers has adopted measures and will insist on account-rendering by the Ministry of Communications regarding the further improvement of organization, management, and discipline at all levels of the transportation system, as well as other departments, to ensure the fulfillment of their tasks concerning the intensification of the work in the transportation sector and to expand it through cable cars and other vehicles which are less costly in the utilization of fuels.

Investments for the development of the economy and the social and cultural sectors will total 4.4 billion leks. In determining this volume, the more efficient use of material, financial, and foreign currency funds has been taken into consideration, as well as the need to concentrate these funds on those projects that are already under construction, in addition to some new ones. About 83 percent of the investments will be directed toward the production sphere. Industry and agriculture will account for approximately 74 percent of the state investments.

Through a greater concentration of the construction and installation work and by a more extensive use of the method of mass actions, 130 major projects will be built in 1986, including the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Power Plant at Koman, the Ballsh plant for lubricating oil, the expansion of the superphosphates plant at Lac, some production lines for the food industry, irrigation and livestock-raising complexes, large refrigeration plants, sociocultural projects, and so forth. Construction will begin and further work will be intensified at some other major projects including the Benje hydroelectric power plant, the Milot-Rreshen-Klos railroad, the urea factory in Fier, the sulphuric acid factory in Lac, and so forth.

The increase in material production, financial accumulation, and labor force anticipated by the 1986 plan will guarantee and further raise the material well-being of the working masses and create possibilities for the further development of education, culture, and the health service. Compared with 1985, the real per capita income of the population is expected to average 3 percent. The monetary income of the population, retail trade, and monetary circulation have been planned in a harmonized

manner; they will meet the needs of the population and further strengthen the purchasing power of the currency. Retail trade in the state sector of the economy is expected to increase 6.4 percent and in the cooperative sector by about 8 percent. About 5.2 percent more meat, 5.3 percent more edible fats, 16 percent more vegetables and potatoes, 11 percent more beans, 8 percent more ready-made clothing and knitwear, 7 percent more footwear, 10-15 percent more construction materials, and so forth, will be sold to the population in 1986.

Further increases are also expected in the development of communal services, whose volume will increase 9.7 percent. State funds will be used to build 9,500 apartments and tasks have been stipulated to better support with the necessary material base the construction of dwellings by cooperative members using their own financial assets.

The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Ministry of Communal Economy must adopt more efficient measures to improve the quality of services for the population, in particular.

In the field of education and culture, efforts will be expanded to strengthen the ideological and scientific training of the younger generation and of the working masses and the quality and mass character of cultural and sports activities will be further raised. The attention of the Ministry of Health and its dependent organs will be centered particularly on the improvement of prophylactic work and the increased efficiency of medical and curative work, particularly in the clinics.

About 100 studies under the auspices of the Council of Ministers will be carried out to support the tasks incorporated in the 1986 plan, and particularly in the 5-Year Plan, as well as hundreds of other studies under various other auspices in the various fields of social, technical, and natural sciences. The Council of Ministers will adopt special measures to implement Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions at the meeting with the innovators of Shkoder District in order to support, stimulate, and implement the proposals of the production sector innovators, considering them always to be a great force for the fulfillment of tasks and the solving of problems arising from the dynamic development of our economy.

The planned tasks for the development of the economy and culture in 1986 are based entirely on the financial and foreign currency resources created by our economy. The 1986 draft state budget aims to ensure a better utilization of the reserves and possibilities created by the economy to increase incomes and to use these assets efficiently and with a strong regimen of thrift. The state budget income is expected to increase 12 percent. The state budget expenditure guarantees the uninterrupted financing of the economy, the sociocultural sectors, and the country's defense. The development of the economy will account for 51 percent of the state budget expenditures. The expenditures devoted to education, the preservation of the health of the population, and social security account for 27.8 percent of the state budget expenditures, and defense will account for about 11 percent of the state budget.

The Council of Ministers will adopt measures and strengthen its demands for account-rendering to ensure the consistent implementation of the party's directives that we should consume only as much as we produce, that we should spend only as much as our incomes permit, that we should only import as much as we export, that we should constantly consolidate our material and monetary reserves, using the instruments of our economic mechanism and monetary control increasingly more efficiently.

III. Some Major Directions in Which the Work of the State and Economic Organs for the Fulfillment of the 1986 Plan Will Be Concentrated

Comrade deputies, in order to fulfill the tasks of the 1986 plan it is necessary that the work of the state and economic organs at the center, in the districts, and at the grassroots be concentrated particularly in these major directions:

1. The direct and regular fulfillment of the planned tasks always remains the fundamental direction of the work of the state and economic organs.

At the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that "...the unconditional fulfillment of the planned tasks by all branches and sectors of the economy, by all districts and economic units, has been and remains the sole major way for the development of our self-reliant society and for successfully confronting the difficulties caused by nature and the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade." In light of the analysis carried out by the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum, the Council of Ministers will improve work everywhere and efficient measures will be adopted to ensure the fulfillment of tasks, to raise the sense of responsibility, and to mobilize and utilize the reserves and possibilities created by the economy.

Every working collective, every cadre and specialist is required to fulfill the plan in its entirety and regularly every day and week, every month and every quarter, to struggle against routine and against the harmful methods and practices of some cadres who plan below capacity and who permit an unsteady pace at work and unilateralism in plan fulfillment instead of adopting the necessary measures and of mobilizing the working people to overcome difficulties and obstacles.

The 1986 draft plan incorporates the most essential objectives to meet social needs and represents the collective thinking of all the working people and of all party and state bodies, and is therefore now a mandatory law to be implemented. "Those who violate and evade plans," stressed Comrade Ramiz Alia at the latest AWP Central Committee plenum, "violate the laws of the party and of the state and affect the interests of the people and of socialism. Therefore everyone must bear responsibility at his place of work and must account for the fulfillment of the tasks down to the last one."

It is necessary to bear well in mind that the nonfulfillment of plans is inevitably accompanied by the creation of difficulties for other sectors and branches of the economy. It is therefore the duty of all state and economic organs, as well as all cadres, to make use of all the possibilities and reserves not only in order to fulfill plans but also to overfulfill them in all sectors of the economy and particularly in the extraction of oil and gas, chrome, copper, and coal, in the production of electricity, bread grains, industrial crops, livestock products, and every other product used by the people and the economy. This requires a further tightening of controls and raising the sense of responsibility for the fulfillment of tasks, so that matters may be taken in hand on time, without permitting weaknesses and shortcomings to worsen.

The state and economic organs will intensify the struggle against tendencies to fulfill the planned tasks unilaterally, because this concept still persists and raises its head in the economic-production activity of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives despite the criticisms made by the party from time to time, which, by pursuing the fulfillment of the plan in terms of monetary values, neglect products of small monetary value, which are essential to meet the needs of the people and of the economy. This happens partly because in many cases the state and economic organs continue to show greater appreciation for their work and demand accounting mainly for the big items. The struggle against these tendencies and liberal attitudes remains one of the directions of the work of the state and economic organs, because, as the party has been constantly instructing us, behind every planned task, behind every planned product, there lies a definite policy which must be implemented at all costs, there lies a concrete need of the society, which must be met.

The 1986 plan aims to ensure a better supply of food and other goods for the population. In achieving this task the state and economic organs will be guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions to show extra care for and give priority to the problems of supplying the population, because people must be increasingly better fed and clothed and must increasingly better meet their daily needs.

In order to improve the supplying of livestock products to the population, it is necessary to make better use of the advantages of keeping large herds, as well as of the reserves of livestock products in the plains and the highlands. Measures have also been adopted to increase the production of vegetables and potatoes in the agricultural enterprises to supply cities and working centers. The state and economic organs have also adopted measures to support the initiatives of numerous agricultural cooperatives to keep a limited number of livestock, both large and small, at the field or horticultural brigade level, as well as to sow one or two hectares with beans or potatoes for their own use. As a result of these measures, all districts, with the exception of Tirana District, will satisfy through their own production all the needs of the urban and rural population for eggs, vegetables, beans, and according to possibilities, potatoes.

In addition to the fulfillment of production plans, measures will be adopted to improve the distribution of goods and to improve services to the population. The state and economic organs will respond to the increasing purchasing power and demands of the population increasingly better with the necessary commodities and services. This will be the major concern of these organs in 1986.

2. Increasing the efficiency of the economy constitutes one of the major aims of the 1986 plan.

The 13th AWP Central Committee plenum stressed once again that it is essential to increase the efficiency of the economy, and this is to be attained through a more complete utilization of production capacities, increased productivity, reduced costs, and the timely construction of projects, by furthering the technical-scientific revolution and by better activating internal reserves everywhere. All this requires a greater effort by the state and economic organs, because "the problem of the efficiency of production expenditures and capital investments," Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "is one of the biggest and most difficult problems... it is not merely an economic, but also a political and social problem."

A comprehensive effort will be made to study and establish technical norms for the utilization of raw and other materials. The ministries and district people's council executive committees should increase their responsibility for unifying these norms on the basis of advanced experience. With the intention of extending technical norms, greater solicitude should be shown in reviewing and improving the norms now in operation, because the development and expansion of the technical-scientific revolution, the improvement of the level of training of the workers and their political awareness, create the conditions and possibilities for further advancing these norms. Internal reserves must be used in greater depth in order to ensure that the machinery and equipment available give the maximum production possible, while work and production discipline must be raised to a higher level.

The improved quality of products will also be at the center of attention of the work of the state and economic organs. At his meeting with the Korce District cadres, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that it is essential to improve quality, and he set out tasks for this. In addition to the improvements that are to be made in introducing new and contemporary technologies, every working collective should increase its sense of responsibility, and its control and self-control to produce, build, and service with high quality.

Under current conditions, the improvement in quality will be of decisive importance in increasing production efficiency. The Council of Ministers will therefore be more persistent in ensuring that the state and economic organs at the center, in the districts, and at the grassroots, apply measures to improve everywhere the technical-economic production indexes. Measures must be adopted and applied in the mining industry to reduce

losses and the depletion of ores; the metal utilization coefficient must be raised in the engineering industry, and this must be standardized for factories and products of a similar nature; timber stocks must be better utilized in the timber industry, and the quality of furniture and household equipment must be improved; improvement of quality in the light and food industry must come as a result of the introduction of new scientific methods and technologies, and the weight of products must be reduced; production plans in agriculture must be fulfilled not only with regard to the quantity, but also with regard to the quality of products, particularly in the case of industrial crops and vegetables, since this, too, is an important way to increase the incomes of agricultural cooperatives; the work carried out to simplify designs and reduce costs must be continued in the construction sector, and so forth.

The party has constantly drawn attention to the need to perfect socialist organization of work, this being an essential prerequisite to raise productivity. The Council of Ministers will reinforce its demands for account-rendering to ensure that the ministries and district people's council executive committees take effective measures to completely utilize working time, to improve work norms, to extend technical norms, to fulfill labor norms, to elevate the degree of mechanization, and to raise the technical-vocational standards of the workers.

In order to increase the efficiency of the economy, particular attention will be paid to costs, prices, wages, credits, the net income of society, and to the preservation and administration of socialist property so as to constantly enhance their role and importance in the direction of the economy. Every enterprise and agricultural cooperative should work in such a manner that the income from their production and financial activity should cover their expenditures and ensure the planned accumulation.

3. Export-import problems are of special importance in ensuring the complete fulfillment of the tasks of the plan.

The 1986 foreign currency balance will be at the center of attention of the state and economic organs. This requires that the continuity of the quantity and quality of the commodities intended to be exported be ensured. In addition, as the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum recommended, efforts must increase to sell on time and profitably all commodities intended to be exported, strongly opposing the concept of dividing export goods into "strong" and "weak" ones.

Particular attention must be paid to improving the quality of export goods. The producers and the foreign trade sector must understand this well, because in the conditions of strong competition, which has been further exacerbated as a result of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries, the demand for quality has increased considerably.

The state and economic organs are also confronted with important tasks with regard to the use of all imported commodities in accordance with a strict regimen of thrift. In addition, they should find new possibilities for reducing imports.

The foreign trade, finance, banking, planning, and production organs are currently required to tackle import and export problems with profound knowledge and a great sense of responsibility. A better knowledge of market trends, the securing of stabilized import and export markets, the expansion of the range of export goods, the establishment of the most effective ratios between production and foreign trade, and so forth, are some of the main directions on which these organs will concentrate their attention to a greater degree in 1986.

4. The improvement in the management, organization, and control of the implementation of tasks is another important direction in the work of the state and economic organs.

The present stage of development and the tasks for the fulfillment of the plan assigned by the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum dictate in an imperative manner the necessity of raising the management and organization of the economy and of every other aspect of the country's life to a higher scientific level, that the cadres and working masses should increasingly better master the art of management in order to be able to resolve the problems confronting us and open up new prospects.

The state and economic organs of Lushnje District gave a positive example of management and organization in 1985 by directly fulfilling and over-fulfilling the planned tasks. Guided by the district party organs, they responded to the situations that were created with an appropriate style, method, and organization, efficiently and broadly using the method of mass actions.

The improvement of management and organization is inseparable from the work method and style. Therefore, everywhere there must be a revolutionary method and style which will respond to the initiatives, fervor, and enthusiasm of the masses, which guarantee the fulfillment of the planned tasks.

In their work, all organs and managers must not separate their words and deeds; they must link theory with practice, engage in principled criticism and self-criticism, strengthen their links with the masses, with the people, and oppose all forms of closed work and manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism. The work that was done in 1985 to turn the grief caused by the loss of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, into strength in order to fulfill plans and to overcome great natural difficulties has given us a rich experience and brilliant lesson of the outstanding value of the links between the cadres and the masses, which we must promote further in the struggle to fulfill the 1986 plan.

The party teaches us that it is not possible to have sound management and organization without constant and efficient control. Last year's experience showed that one of the weaknesses in the management and organizational work in some sectors was the lack of systematic, direct, and complex control of the fulfillment of planned tasks. As the party has instructed, control of the implementation of decisions must become effective and profound in order to make an impact and ensure the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan.

The fulfillment of planned tasks also requires, at the same time, that greater attention be paid to the problems of coordination, primarily between departments and districts. In addition to positive examples in this direction, manifestations of departmentalism and sectionalism are still apparent and must be strongly opposed because they act as a brake and hinder the resolution of problems. The scientific research institutions must also seek their themes directly from production and the needs of the economy and must serve to fulfill the tasks of the plan and open up new prospects.

The Council of Ministers will adopt measures in 1986 to further improve particular aspects of production relations, particularly with regard to management and organization, the price system, exchange relations between the state and cooperatives, to improve the manner of executing payments in some production sectors, to increase the role of credits and financing, and so forth. Measures will be adopted to extend the experience in the collection and storing of wheat to other crops like corn, sunflower, and sugarbeet.

Comrade deputies, the international situation is currently extremely tense and fraught with numerous dangers as a result of the all-round crisis in the capitalist and revisionist world and the aggressive and expansionistic policies of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Faced with this situation, it is our duty to further sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and to directly fulfill all the tasks set out by the party in all fields of life. Our internal sociopolitical situation is very sound and the unity of the people around the party and its Central Committee is firm. Our economy is consolidated and possesses all possibilities to advance always, in the same way that our defense has been further reinforced and modernized. The prestige of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has grown and our country presently enjoys considerable support from all progressive world public opinion.

The Council of Ministers is fully confident that the working masses, the state and economic organs, inspired by our party's correct Marxist-Leninist line and under its leadership, headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, will further increase their mobilization and drive in work and that they will place all their efforts with a militant spirit and the method of mass actions to turn into reality the tasks of the 1986 plan in order to approach the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party and its ninth congress with new and even greater successes in constantly reinforcing our socialist economy and culture.

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CSO: 2100/23

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON ENERGY SITUATION, RESOURCES

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian No 21, 12 Nov 85 pp 8-11

[Interview with Nikola Todoriev, minister of energy, on the occasion of the 13th Party Congress by the magazine OTECHESTVO; date and place not specified; "Energy Alarms, Energy Hopes"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Todoriev, what energy raw materials of its own does our country have at its disposal and how are they being used?

[Answer] Nature has endowed us with very few energy resources of our own. The black coal that has been discovered, for example, is just enough in respect of quantity and qualities to say that we have any. Our brown coal--Pernik, Bobov Dol, Burgas--is also scarce. But its qualities are low, too. If we are not unique, we are at least one of the few countries that use in their thermoelectric power plants fuel with ash content of the order of 60-62 percent. This naturally gives rise to problems. The ash is highly abrasive, the equipment and heating surfaces deteriorate, and the breakdown rate of the steam generators is correspondingly great.

Another native raw material is lignite, the bulk of which is to be found in the Eastern Maritsa field. But here a refinement is necessary. The Americans designate as lignite coal which has a calorific value even over 4000 kilocalories per kilogram. In the GDR, the highest consumer thereof in Europe, its calorific value is 1800-2200 kcal/kg, with admixtures few and mainly sand. Our lignite yields 1150-1450 kcal/kg. If you squeeze a small lump of it in your hand and hit it against the wall, it clings there--oily, sticky clay, which makes it difficult to convey, pulverize, etc. Nevertheless, with the help of the Soviet Union we have begun to use this coal--now 20 percent of the country's electric power is obtained from it in the "Maritsa-Iztok" Complex. Hence the policy of developing native resources is absolutely right. Years ago a number of specialists--Bulgarian and foreign--asserted categorically that Eastern Maritsa lignite was clay and nothing could come of it. Someone had to manifest foresight and decide, "It will be developed!" The person who did this was Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Some persist in thinking that Bulgaria is rich in water sources. But we are the water-poorest country in Europe, poorer than all our neighbors. That is why our country is setting about building an alpine series of hydroelectric power stations, with great water diversions running many kilometers to collect even the tiniest brooklets. Our hydroelectric plants are not built to operate

on flowing water with a relatively constant discharge, for our rivers are small and become deep mainly during the melting of the snow. That is why our hydroelectric power plants are mostly situated on dam lakes. Our dam lakes serve multiple purposes--irrigation, industrial and drinking water, production of electric power. The proportion of hydroelectric power is not large but, by way of compensation, it is very valuable, for it is used to meet peak loads around the clock (a hydraulic turbine is started up very rapidly and at once takes up the load).

[Question] What impact has the drought of several years had on our country's water resources?

[Answer] This drought is a veritable disaster for Bulgaria. Our dam lakes now have water volumes below the permissible minimum at which operation of the electric power plants is authorized. Moreover, some of the series of hydroelectric power plants have dam lakes that cannot be filled in a single winter, with the result that we shall feel the drought even two or three years later with normal precipitation.

[Question] Bulgaria has outstripped many countries in the building of atomic power plants. What necessitated the development of atomic power at such a high rate?

[Answer] Shortage of our own resources and continuously increasing consumption of electric power due to industrialization of the country and an ever higher living standard. This growth of consumption had to be met from somewhere. Moreover, the party position on an overtaking rate of development of our power supply has always been and remains urgent, with the result that we had to resort to atomic power plants. But they have not been welcomed cordially. On the contrary, there have been many opponents and there has been almost no atomic-power-plant operating experience in the world. Atomic power plants have been constructed in only 20 countries. Indeed, it took both boldness and foresight to give the green light to the policy for which today there is no alternative. At that time the atom was still associated in people's consciousness with one of the grimmest and most devastating events of World War II. And once more Comrade Todor Zhivkov with his characteristic flair for innovation succeeded in assessing the part atomic power plants would play in our future development and in taking a firm stand for them. Thus Bulgaria became the first in the Balkans to build an atomic power plant. Today we produce one-third of our entire electric power at "Kozloduy" Atomic Power Plant. In terms of this yardstick, only five countries in the world have outstripped us.

[Question] There are certain hazards involving violation of the ecological equilibrium by some activities in power engineering. I refer not only to the hazard of radioactive contamination, but also to the damage done to the landscape during the building of a series of hydroelectric power stations.

[Answer] Truth to tell, in the beginning no attention was paid to the ecology. Later on, however, things changed radically. Now tunnels, mainly, are built in order not to affect the landscape. Wherever there are canals, they are mandatorily covered, planted to grass, reforested, etc.

But the atomic power plants are less harmful to human beings than a single X-ray examination in the hospital. The radiation background at "Kozloduy" is three times as low as in Sofia. (Don't be alarmed, it's far below permissible norms in the capital, too.) The reason for the great difference lies in the exceptional measures against radiation contamination of the environment taken early on in the planning of the atomic power plant.

To be sure, radiation is no joking matter. That is why every atomic power plant is equipped with many means of defense. Otherwise, its operation simply would not be permitted. And, in connection with the use of nuclear fuel, let me remind you that a World Agency for the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy exists. It has its inspectors everywhere and uses modern means of monitoring. In the reactor compartment of the "Kozloduy" Atomic Power Plant there is installed a sealed camera to keep track of the motion of the nuclear fuel. The camera is actuated only on the command of the inspector observing the power station, who has his headquarters in Vienna. Only he can remove the exposed reel from the camera during his periodic on-the-spot checkups. The international monitoring is very strict. And I would remind you that the last session of the National Assembly adopted a special law stricter than any similar laws in the other countries using atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

[Question] What is done with radioactive wastes and spent fuel? There have been hazards also involving thermal pollution and plans are now being made to increase capacities. . .

[Answer] Solid and liquid radioactive wastes are collected in special storage places serviceable for operation throughout the life of the power plant. As regards spent fuel, we are in an especially favorable position--we return it in a special container to the Soviet Union.

A special expedition, organized through CEMA to investigate the radioactive contamination of the Danube, has found that the "Kozloduy" Atomic Power Plant does not contaminate the river. So-called thermal pollution, however, is inevitable at such capacities. But since the amounts of water are huge, the temperature rise of the water is comparatively small. When the river level dropped, as it did this year, 1 or 2° variations may result. We do not exceed any permissible norms whereby we would harm the flora and fauna in the region.

[Question] Let us return from the ecology to the economy. The energy difficulties that our country has experienced and is experiencing are no secret to anybody. Let us once more seek the reasons for these; let us talk about the lessons that have been learned and the measures taken.

[Answer] The difficulties are overwhelmingly of a temporary character--the drought which deprived us of hydroelectric power plants, the long and severe winter, delays in putting some new capacities into operation, the shortage of our own gaseous and liquid fuels. We have some power plants which by now have each operated 25-30 years and which are both obsolete and outworn, given which objectively they operate at a higher breakdown rate.

Nor are the subjective weaknesses for the occurrence of troubles few. One of these is the lapses in the maintenance and operation of the power plants.

That is why this year we have channeled considerable resources into the repair of basic capacities. The volume thereof is 70 percent larger than last year. This has created complications in power supply during the summer season, but we have thus assured a better winter season. The repair campaign is continuing along basic lines.

To the subjective weaknesses let me add also excessively low discipline. There is some slacking and we are taking special measures against it. But we must look at the alarming facts from another angle as well. Labor in the energy sector is hard--continuous production process, different days off, underground work of miners, some unsolved material questions. That is why it is difficult to recruit and retain personnel--the result is considerable turnover. In one power-generating unit--and especially the atomic power-generating units, there is more electronic equipment than in some machine-building plants, but we cannot attract and retain electronic specialists. That is why recently a decree was adopted whereby the pay of miners and power workers was increased by 15-20 percent, additional remuneration was provided for, alleviations in pensioning, etc.

Let us go on with discipline. We have management personnel whom we have torn to pieces with criticism; yet the questions do somehow end up with them--downwards: the shift, the power-unit duty officer, etc., care only to have their working time come to an end and get away. Things which until recently were incomprehensible in power engineering. It is not just a matter of pay. Surely work with people has been neglected, too; surely the question of choice of vocation is of significance, too; and surely you, too, as journalists bear a certain blame--little is written about the hard and responsible occupation of power workers and miners.

[Question] What determines the establishment of the conditions of power consumption?

[Answer] Power engineering has characteristic features of its own. It has no stockpiles. The moment of production coincides with the moment of consumption. Therefore power engineering is controlled in centralized fashion. Even our limited resources would have been sufficient if consumption were but evenly distributed around the clock. But you know that is not so; power consumption peaks occur in the morning and evening. At that time for a period of 6-7 hours a capacity balance cannot be met. There are no hydroelectric power stations that have a 20-percent share and that are, besides, suitable as switching installations for regulating the power system. That is why the peaks must be "trimmed down."

[Question] Can we assume that as regards operating conditions we are at a holding point, i.e., we do not permit the overall situation to worsen so that we can count on improvement?

[Answer] In September, due to repairs and the reasons already enumerated, barely half the available capacities were in operation. The repaired capacities are already in service and we are progressing. But the lack of VETs [hydroelectric power plant] reserve will continue to be felt. A motor vehicle can move

on four tires, but has a full set of five. At one time or another you will puncture a tire--a pipeline in the boiler will burst and the turbine will stop, and then we must have something to take up the load.

[Question] Another exceptionally important question is the economical consumption of electric power. Let us begin with your sector. What is the consumption of electric power for your thermoelectric power stations' own needs? What is being done to reduce losses in the carrying of electric power?

[Answer] The efficiency of our thermoelectric power plants tallies with their rated indicators. Those that operate with imported fuel operate with indicators such as are achieved in the countries supplying the equipment. This is not so, however, with the stations fired with native coal. Even there we are making progress. For example, at the "Dimo Dichev" thermoelectric power plant where our new technology is used, consumption for our own needs are nearly half those at "Purva Komsomolska" thermoelectric power plant. But it is technically impossible to achieve the 7 percent of the "Varna" thermoelectric power plant. A power plant at "Maritsa-Iztok" with capacities equal to the "Varna" thermoelectric power plant must process five times as much coal and release 10-15 times as much ash and scoria as the "Varna" thermoelectric power plant.

Ultimately production cost determines efficiency. And the electric power that we produce from "Maritsa-Iztok" has a comparatively low production cost.

[Question] What are the latest data on our electric power consumption and how do they look in comparison historically and with the data of other European countries?

[Answer] The Ninth of September found Bulgaria with an annual per-capita consumption of 45 kwhr. To be more graphic, as much as a 1000-watt hotplate would consume in operating for 45 hours. Last year we already had 5260 kwhr per capita. This year the situation will be almost the same. In electric power consumption we have caught up with the advanced countries in Europe.

During the energy crisis in the 1970's the Western world, which is rich in its own resources, introduced draconian measures, combined with economic controls, for the purpose of their economical consumption. And they worked successfully. We are a little late with the measures. But it is by now as plain as can be that efficient use of energy has to be recognized as one of the general thrusts of our energy policy. And our potentials on this score are actually large.

The February Plenum of the BCP Central Committee raised frankly and categorically the question of the necessity for structural changes in the economy and in technologies. We must develop industry whose requirements can be met with the resources that we have. But we must not harbor illusions that such changes take place all of a sudden and that we are going to call a halt now to enterprises with a large electric power consumption. The realistic course is different. First we are required to stabilize the existing industrial technologies and they must fit into the established consumption norms. At the same time we must modernize them or replace them with new ones that consume less

energy for the same production. The potential reserves are great in the household sector, too. Consumption here has likewise grown appreciably, coming to 20 percent of the total volume, and together with the municipal sector to almost one-third. These are the figures for some of the most advanced countries, which, in contrast to us, have many cheap sources of energy. Since we do not have gaseous and liquid fuels, which are handiest for heating and cooking, the use of electric current has grown sharply. Even in the countryside where people used to love a roaring fire in the stove, there has been a changeover to electric radiators.

Advanced countries have begun abolishing overhead illumination and have changed over to local. Perhaps it does indeed create more coziness, but surely economies have something to do with it. Just go to the TsUM [Central Department Store] and have a look at the lighting-fixture. Our designers have racked their brains, it seems, over how to shade the electric lamp to the utmost rather than how to make optimum use of its light. Just see what we have come to in our present standards. A workshop is 100 meters long and 40 high, but the total illumination is overhead, lamp to lamp. Only two machines operate on the second shift, but the entire premises are lighted and heated. Yet resource-rich countries have introduced local illumination and local heating here too in order to economize.

[Question] In your interview on Bulgarian television and in the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO you said that if the mass information media gave as much attention to energy problems as they do to water, you would be happy. What were your reasons for this?

[Answer] There is hardly a day when something is not written or said about economical water consumption and about the waste thereof. Perfectly right. The power consumption situation is likewise alarming, yet the necessary attention is not paid to it. But something has to be said, for example, to propagandize and inculcate economies. These habits must be created early in childhood. Maybe we are tardy, but we have now worked out lectures which must be delivered during the classroom teacher's hours in all schools. Children are more conscientious than adults. The Czechoslovak comrades in the evening during the minutes for the Sandman are urged to extinguish unnecessary illumination or turn off the superfluous appliance and the children indeed jump up at once and begin to put them out. Let me tell you about a curious instance. My physician acquaintance had gone for specialized training to Sweden, a country so rich in cheap energy resources that even its superhighways are illuminated. And in the laboratory only the laboratory assistant's table lamp was lit up. The Bulgarian asked what all this meant and she (the laboratory assistant) showed him the morning newspaper where in a corner in quite small letters it said, "Due to unforeseen failures, please switch off everything that is not needed." And that's all there was to it.

[Question] Obviously, in addition to propaganda work, at least at this stage, penalties for electric power wasters will also be necessary.

[Answer] This autumn and winter limitation of consumption in industry is anticipated. Moreover, take note that strict penalties, including penalties

affecting the wage fund, will be imposed for the consumption of more power. Monitoring has also been intensified.

[Question] Inasmuch as there is a question of consumption monitoring, we should like to ask whether there is sufficient equipment to report the electric power that is consumed in industry.

[Answer] Unfortunately, this question still has not been definitively solved. There are not enough meters. It is anticipated that the number thereof will be increased. They will report not the enterprises' total consumption (it is metered right now), but the consumption of large machines and individual production lines. How are you going to compel a brigade to make economies if it doesn't know how much its section is spending? If one workshop economizes but the other overconsumes, the one that saved gets as much as the wastrel. But let us be clear: the problem will not be solved in a year or two. A great deal has been let slip by.

[Question] And will individual flowmeters be installed for centrally heated households?

[Answer] To date buildings have been constructed with vertical installations for central heating, which will prevent metering the thermal energy used by individual apartments. This is what is done for public buildings. For the entire housing block such general metering creates no incentives for individual families. As for regulators, a few thousand of them have been installed in Sofia. At all subscription stations, heat-regulating systems are now mandatorily installed. In the future it is anticipated that individual radiator regulators will be installed. I want to note that, beginning this year, in checking complaints about abnormally low temperatures in centrally heated dwelling units we will first of all look to see whether the windows are sealed. Unless they are, no action will be taken on the complaints. Our metering shows that in big cold spells good sealing, especially in paneled apartments, raises the temperature 2-3°.

[Question] May we place our hopes on new energy sources?

[Answer] Let me disillusion you a little although it is the "in" thing to speak of them. The most optimistic forecasts indicate that by the year 2000 solar energy's share--and only in certain countries at that--will amount to 2-3 percent. We, too, have a program; the new energy-source combine is working in our ministry. It produces solar collectors, heat pumps, and installations for the utilization of hot mineral waters. The matter of so-called secondary energy resources is quite different. Our country has many at-present waste-heat sources--furnaces, heat exchangers, drying chambers, etc. There are ways of using this energy, at least for in-house purposes of the enterprise in question. The use of new energy source will continuously increase.

[Question] What are the commonest outlooks for the development of the Bulgarian power supply during the present and the next decade?

[Answer] By 1990 atomic power plants' share of electric power will most likely amount to 40-42 percent, and in 2000 to 60 percent. In no event, however, will this form of power supply be developed alone. It operates under a basic load, and other, more maneuverable capacities are required to regulate the system. Such, for example, are the capacities of "Chaira" PAVETs [Pumping-Storage Hydroelectric Plant], which is now under construction. Additional capacities will be built at the "Maritsa-Iztok" Complex. Large cities in Southern Bulgaria will be supplied with heat by lignite-using power plants alone. The development of hydroelectric plants will continue although there are few hydroelectric sources not already included. Under construction to the Soviet Union via Romania is a 750-kilovolt power line, which will enhance the security of the national power system.

Speaking of prospects, let me point out once more the importance of efficient power utilization. Our experience teaches us that even the best monitoring system has never saved the situation unless the objectives thereof become everybody's conviction. Therefore, let us conclude with a wish: may the progress of the Bulgarian power supply become the cause not only of our sector, but of our entire economy, of every Bulgarian.

The editors thank Minister Nikola Todoriev for the explanations he has made. We understand that in a single--albeit long--conversation it is impossible to cover all the most acute problems and to discuss in detail the objective, as well as subjective reasons for power difficulties.

The magazine OTECHESTVO has opened its correspondent's post at the Ministry of Power Supply. We shall keep track of the routes of innovations into practice and the implementation of the programs that have been mapped out; we shall study cases of an irresponsible attitude towards energy.

In the next issue: "At 'Maritsa-Iztok' on the Eve of the New Winter."

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CSO: 5100/3016

SURVEY OF DIMINISHING WATER RESOURCES CAUSES CONCERN

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 85 pp 1-4

[Article by Stoyanka Radeva; "Above All Water Means"]

[Text] Considerations regarding facts and conclusions based on the investigation on the implementation of party and government decisions on the economical use of water, conducted by the State and People's Control Committee in 17 okrugs.

Water is one of the many goods with which nature has not endowed us generously. It is no secret that we are living and working under conditions governed by a constant water shortage. Matters became drastically worse as a result of the lengthy drought in our country. Cities and villages are threatened with remaining waterless for days on end. The animals are thirsty. There is a high likelihood that in the near future something similar or even worse could affect others.

It is no accident that for the past three years the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat and the Council of Ministers have repeatedly raised the question of developing new water sources and ensuring the most efficient utilization of water. Unfortunately, instead of affecting everyone and turning into actions and deeds, this concern keeps crashing like a wave against a dike of carelessness, light handedness, inertia and irresponsibility. This is confirmed by the results of the investigation conducted by the Committee for State and People's Control in 17 okrugs.

Year After Year and Plan After Plan!

Resolution No 40 of 1983 of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers called for accelerating the building of water supply systems in Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad, Tolbukhin, Silistra, Razgrad and Turgovishte okrugs. However, this task is not being implemented. Furthermore, projects are being postponed year after year and plan after plan. Although the completion deadlines for some of them have elapsed or are elapsing, the end of construction is not in sight. Here are some facts. As its very name indicates, the "Northeastern Bulgaria" water supply system will provide water to a significant part of the country. This also presumes that both the pace and responsibility for its development must be substantially enhanced. However, this is not the case. Construction was undertaken in 1976 but to

this day less than one-half of appropriations have been used. Furthermore, in both 1984 and 1983 planned capital investments were not used and planned capital assets were not installed. The same situation prevails at the Popina water supply group. In the first 9 months of this year no more than 64 percent of the annual plan for both projects had been fulfilled.

Although considered target areas and despite the fact that water supplies in Vratsa and Mikhaylovgrad okrugs have involved exceptional difficulties, the pace at which the Srechenska Bara Hydrojunction and the Slatina Treatment Stations are such that their completion will not take place this year as well. The work done at the Mutnitsa and Sirakovo Projects in that same Vratsa Okrug, is proceeding extremely sluggishly. The 1984 plan was not fulfilled and this year no more than 7 percent of capital investments were used at the Mutnitsa project. Yet seven thirsty settlements are waiting for water from this project.

Projects are being completed extremely unsatisfactorily in Vidin, Stara Zagora, Veliko Turnovo and many other okrugs. The Zlataritsa City Water Supply Project, which was scheduled for completion in 1982, is still unfinished.

A discussion with officials responsible for such construction would bring to light many problems and culpabilities. The facts are there. The people are thirsty and will remain thirsty either because the construction workers of the Khidrostroy DSO [State Economic Trust], the Minstroy SO [Economic Trust] and others have not set up their construction organizations or else the executive committees of okrug people's councils have not done their work to ensure the availability of the necessary manpower, or else again because a ministry or department has not supplied materials. Meanwhile, the people are thirsty and will remain thirsty for a long time to come....

Like a Gray Dragon....

All problems related to the efforts to conserve and most carefully utilize drinking water are major and important, for not even a drop should be lost as a result of faulty equipment and not one liter of water should be used for other purposes. Drinking water is water for....life.

However, investigations have revealed that as a result of the amortization of water mains and sluggish elimination of breakdowns as much as 30 percent of the drinking water is being wasted. It took more than a few months to repair the turncock along the water main leading from the Bakur Dere Dam in Sofia Okrug. It took between two and three months to repair breakdowns, letting water flow along the streets at No 5 Golash Street, Block No 19 in the Lyulin residential district, on Nikolay Khrelkov, etc. Some 20-25 liters of water per second are being wasted along the derivation leading from the Yovkovtsi Treatment Station in Veliko Turnovo Okrug. Nevertheless, no organization has been set up for the reconstruction and updating of the water mains and no funds are being appropriated for this purpose. This situation prevails in Vidin, Sofia, Pernik, Turgovishte, Burgas, Kurdzhali and many other okrugs. And what can we say about industry, which is continuing to consume our water like a gray dragon. Industrial enterprises are using drinking water for

industrial purposes instead of developing their own water sources as categorically instructed by the party and the government. The 1983 resolution set December 1984 as the target date for resolving this problem. Directive No 1 of 1984 of the Council of Ministers Bureau set the end of 1985 as the new deadline. On the basis of joint measures of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers, between June and 15 July 1985 the Sofia City People's Council, the Committee for the Protection of the Environment and the Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Union were to organize the building of temporary facilities for the use of the waters from the Sofia Water Treatment Station for irrigation and the needs of the L. I. Brezhnev SMK [Economic Metallurgical Combine] and other industrial enterprises. However, nothing has been done to this day and 46 percent of the country's drinking water continues to be used for industrial purposes. Nothing has been done by the Ministry of Metallurgy, the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee and the general director of the L. I. Brezhnev SMK in terms of building temporary facilities, ensuring the triple circulation of the water (the deadline for this assignment was 30 July 1984) for the reconstruction of the cooling powers of the blast furnaces at the Kremikovtsi TETs. As a result of this the combine has not only not reduced the use of drinking water but will exceed its approved annual amount by 52 percent.

Lack of responsibility and exigency displayed along the virtually entire chain of command in charge of this is the actual main reason for the mass nonimplementation of this task. Between 1983 and the end of September 1984 705 water sources were built in the okrugs under investigation to meet the needs of industrial enterprises; they are providing no more than some 3.5 cubic meters per second, no more and no less! A total of 135 water recycling systems have been installed. In reality, however, this is mostly on paper only. How else can we explain the fact that in Sofia, where reports show the building of 399 new sources and 78 water recycling facilities, this year as well as much water is being used from the central water network as was last year and the year before last. Quite simply, during the investigation only one of the three wells was used at the cannery in Kyustendil; meanwhile, it also used the water of three mains from the city water system, at the rate of 8 liters of water per second...for purposes of apple hauling. The Velbuzhd plant in Kyustendil used not even one of the three wells.

The same situation prevails at the Rodopa Meat Combine in Kyustendil and at the Rila Instrument Equipment Plant in Stanke Dimitrov. The result? Labor, money and materials were wasted, reports keep flowing along the information system channel mentioning completed installation but the results are null. What kind of results could be expected when water is being wasted in front of our own eyes with the knowledge and, frequently, the blessings of most responsible party and state bodies? Who else if not the Vratsa Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, whose chairman is Goran Ninov, should be blamed for the fact that unjustifiably the water allocation for this year was increased for 10 enterprises? A ceiling substantially exceeding actual water consumption was allowed for 30 enterprises was signed by some of the most responsible officials in Shumen Okrug, despite the fact that 70 percent of the water supplied to this okrug is used for industrial needs. It is no secret to the leadership of Pernik Okrug, for example, that the Lenin SMK, whose general director is Engineer Krum Atanasov, uses 6 times more drinking water than

stipulated, or else that without increasing its output, the nonalcoholic beverages plant in Stara Zagora, whose director is Ivan Iliev, uses 11,900 cubic meters of drinking water monthly more than it did in 1983. Secrecy, in this case, would be no justification!

We know that industry means the functioning of the economy, goods and jobs. However, is this a sufficient reason for ignoring such waste and such irresponsibility!

Is the Drought Exclusively to Blame?

The consequences of the drought and of reduced water availability have hit animal husbandry hard and will continue to hit it. Entire farms are getting their water by tanker truck. The animals are thirsty and milk production is dropping. In Vidin Okrug, 40 cow farms must bring water in tankers from a distance ranging between 2 and 12 kilometers. Meanwhile, only 11 percent of the planned funds for the development of water sources has been used. By the end of September the Khidrostroy DSO had still not begun to build a water reservoir for the poultry combine in Mramoren village, Vratsa Okrug, while the Water Resources SEP [Economic Enterprise] had not completed the water supply system for the hog-breeding complex in Rogozen, although the project had an August deadline. Even though the livestock breeding farms in the settlement systems of Novi Pazar, Smyadovo, Preslav, Shumen and Ivanski could have their own water supplies and even though this question has been repeatedly raised, the problem remains unresolved. By the time of the investigation, no single water source for livestock farms had been completed in Kyustendil Okrug; water supply possibilities for the farmsteads in Kyustendil, Zhilentsi, Granitsa, Dragovishtitsa, Sovolyano and others had remained unused. In Pernik Okrug, 114 of a total of 250 livestock farms and sheep breeding farms remained connected to urban water mains. No program has been drafted nor anything substantial accomplished. All the consequences, such as reduced productivity, unfulfilled plans, diseases and mortality, will in all likelihood be ascribed to the drought.

So What?

Despite this entire extremely alarming prospect, water continues to be polluted. The reprehensible carelessness of the leadership and specialists at the Vratsa Chemical Combine, whose director is Kiril Petkov, was the reason for depriving 17 settlements with a total population of 23,000, of water. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Chemical Industry took no practical steps to eliminate the pollution and treat waste waters. An alarming condition prevails in the case of some waters in Khaskovo, Plovdiv, Shumen, Sofia, Veliko Turnovo and many other okrugs.

These are facts upon facts...ever more alarming and absurd! The consolidated reports submitted by the Committee for State and People's Control to the Council of Ministers devotes 18 typewritten pages to this subject.

There is hardly any other area in which light-handedness, carelessness, irresponsibility, negligence and general forgiveness are so drastic, illogical and antihuman as in the case of the preservation and utilization of water.

Obviously, there are reasons for this and some of them may be substantial and serious. However, it is inconceivable for a nation and a state such as ours to be unable to find the strength and undertake the solution of a problem of such vital importance. The trouble is that many of those on whom the solution of this problem depended failed to see it in its entire alarming size and complexity. Or else, if they saw it, they preferred to stick their heads in the sand, like ostriches. Decisions are being made, programs are being drafted but no work is done. No one has been held liable! Assignments remain unfulfilled, deadlines are violated and...new assignments and deadlines are set and no one is holding anyone else liable! The executive committee of the okrug people's council in Stara Zagora, whose chairman is Mincho Tabakov, has set no limits for water use by industrial enterprises. So what? In Pleven Okrug, the okrug agroindustrial union failed to draft a program for the water supply of livestock farms. So what? Because of a negligent attitude, a number of wells at the Sredets Agroindustrial Complex, have been neglected, covered, silted and become inoperative. So what? The main water sources have been exhausted. It is true that during the investigation, the authorities of the Committee for State and People's Control took the culprits to task, imposed punishments and issued instructions for the elimination of weaknesses. However, the question of culpability and responsibility along all rungs of the hierarchical level cannot be considered resolved with this.

Like air and bread water is a basis of life. Although tolerance could be shown in the case of any other type of negligence, no such tolerance should be shown toward an irresponsible attitude concerning water, for if we waste water we are breaking our umbilical cord to life. What normal person would allow this?

5003

CSO: 2200/45

CEMA COUNTRIES ECONOMIC PLAN COORDINATION 1986-1990 VIEWED

Prague PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI in Czech No 8, 1985 pp 29-35

[Article by Eng Vaclav Kotouc, State Planning Commission: "Coordination of National Economic Plans of the CEMA Member Countries for the 1986-1990 Period"]

[Text] Over the past 3 years the CEMA member countries and agencies conducted extensive negotiations concerning the coordination of their national economic plans for the 1986-1990 period. The 40th session of the Council in Warsaw discussed on 25-27 June 1985 the report from their proceedings which included also the coordination of investments for the agreed-upon areas, projects and directions for the socioeconomic development of those countries in matters of common interest for the period to 1990. The report was presented by the CEMA Council for Cooperation in Planning, which is the organization for multilateral coordination. In bilateral coordination the central planning agencies provide that service.

The report dealt mainly with the question whether the results of the coordination of plans thus far have been in agreement with the measures approved at the top-level meeting of the Economic Conference of the CEMA member countries in June 1984, and how the strategic course of the further development of mutual cooperation in economy and R&D for the next 5-year plan is being organized.

The main comprehensive task which the member countries are solving at present in the economic area is to proceed expeditiously with a versatile, intensive development, to increase efficiency by improving the structure of social production, rational and economical utilization of available material and labor resources, and to essentially accelerate the progress of R&D. And precisely--in order to deal better with those tasks--they are expanding and intensifying international cooperation and rapidly enriching it with better forms. Individual countries would not be able to adopt rapidly the production of all types of goods of top technical standards in an optimum range and with the maximum effect. Closer cooperation will enable each country to benefit from the advantages of international socialist division of labor.

In accordance with the decision of the top-level Economic Conference and with bilateral meetings of the leading party and state representatives of the interested countries, most attention was focused on the solution of the problems of first priority in individual branches which will make a leap forward possible and which will introduce revolutionary changes in production. At the

same time, coordination of economic policies in areas of mutual cooperation was discussed. More than ever before coordination of plans has become the main mechanism in the development of stable relations in economy and R&D between the CEMA member countries, on which basis the section on mutual cooperation in their national plans is drafted.

During multilateral coordination of plans consultations were held, at which problems of common interest were pinpointed and assessed by appropriate branches of production and departments within the framework of coordination of technical and economic policies. For the first time the CEMA departmental committees specified the long-term concepts of specialization and cooperation in selected branches of production and accordingly, they concluded new agreements, or after updating the contents and conditions of existing contracts, they extended their terms. Thus far 130 agreements have been drafted for the 1986-1990 period, the terms of 98 existing contracts were extended, and 32 new contracts of specialization and cooperation concluded, of which 78 in engineering, 23 in electrical engineering and electronics, and 29 in chemistry.

Particular attention was focused on specific measures to assure rational consumption of fuels, energy, raw materials and supplies, and above all, modern techniques and technologies of new generations. In view of the fact that in recent years advanced capitalist states have been using with increasing frequency embargo, boycott and other kinds of discrimination against the socialist countries, the coordination program was focused also on the implementation of measures aimed at gaining more technical and economic independence from the capitalist states in production, capital investment and mutual exchange of goods. In this respect a good example is the experience in the area of nuclear engineering and computer technology.

Joint consultations on coordination of investments for the areas and programs of common interest were of major importance for further intensification of the plans for the next 5-year period. Specific construction programs implemented by joint efforts or underwritten by the interested countries used to be connected with negotiations concerning specialization and cooperation in production, supplies of required selected goods, and consolidation of technical and economic independence.

When dealing with economic problems, the amounts and conditions of mutual deliveries, and prospective fulfillment of demands of the most essential commodities were adopted according to the agreed-upon nomenklatura. In some instances such demands were assessed in certain blocks of items roughly of the same economic importance, because due to their extraordinary high requirements of energy, raw materials and investments, or overall short supplies in world markets, their significance for the partners' national economy cannot be expressed by value indicators alone. At the same time, the balance of economic and commercial relations was taken into consideration.

In this conjunction the setting of contractual prices for the next 5-year period is especially important. In the beginning of 1985 the problems of better price-setting methods in mutual trade and setting of specific prices for the 1986-1990 period were discussed by the Executive Committee. Since the existing basis for the setting of contractual prices was successful, it was decided to retain it for the next 5-year plan as well.

The practical fulfillment of the "Program for Coordination of National Economic Plans" for the 1986-1990 period, approved by the 36th CEMA session in 1982, was divided into two stages--the first approximately to mid-1984 and the second ending this year before the beginning of the new planning period, so that its results may be confirmed by appropriate agreements and reflected in national plans. Both stages, which form a logical continuity, differ in the contents of the coordinating programs. The dividing line between the first and second stage enables individual countries to compare the achieved situation with their plans (including the projected mutual deliveries of basic products, and preliminary results of coordinating programs on bilateral and multilateral levels). At the same time, before approving main directions for the socioeconomic development of the country in the next stage, and the directives for the drafting of the 5-year plan, national agencies in charge are able to reconcile, if necessary, divergent views stemming from different interests or opportunities of the partners in coordination.

During the consultations on the first stage the participants informed each other about their fulfillment of the 5-year plan, discussed the problems of their economic cooperation at present, and exchanged views concerning the opportunities for expanding their cooperation to--and beyond--the next 5-year plan with respect to the coordination of investments. Furthermore, the fulfillment of long-term trade agreements was assessed and the views about continuing, or possibly changing, the existing structure of mutual deliveries for the next 5-year plan with respect to the coordination of investments. Furthermore, the fulfillment of long-term trade agreements was assessed and the views about continuing, or possibly changing, the existing structure of mutual deliveries for the next 5-year plan were clarified. In this conjunction the partners exchanged lists of goods and on a preliminary basis discussed and then adopted the nomenclature, the quantity and quality and technical standards of mutual deliveries of the most important goods, above all, fuels, energy, raw materials and machinery with a long-term production cycle. In some instances agreements on specialization and cooperation in production were approved already at this particular stage and agreements on cooperation in joint construction projects were further specified.

However urgent the task to expedite the restructuring of national economies and consequent changes of the structure of mutual exchange of goods, when coordinating the plans it is imperative to proceed from the development of the member countries' national economies in this 5-year period. The actual initial base for the coordination of the plans for the 1986-1990 period may be projected on the basis of the national economic development of the CEMA member countries in 1981-1984:

Table 1.

Main Indicators of the Economic Development of the CEMA Member Countries in 1984 (1980 = 100)

	<u>CEMA Countries</u>	<u>CSSR</u>
National income	113	106
Investments	110	98
Industrial production	114	110
Agricultural production	111	110

(table continued on next page)

(table 1 continued)

Foreign trade	139	141
Foreign trade with CEMA countries	153	158
Share of sales transactions with the CEMA in total turnover in 1984 in percent	59.6	73.5

Most of the member countries achieved absolute increments of production while conserving raw materials, fuels, energy and work forces. The efficiency of public labor rose dramatically. Detailed breakdowns of the countries confirmed the idiosyncrasy of the accelerated rates of their economic growth in 1983-1984 on the basis of qualitative restructuring of material production for the purpose of its intensification. The growth of mutual foreign transactions overtook the growth of total foreign trade of the CEMA member countries, and thus, the share of trade among the CEMA countries rose from 53.8 percent in 1980 to 59.3 percent in 1984.

These conclusions about the development of the CEMA countries fully apply to the CSSR. After a stagnating dynamism of the growth of NI in 1981 and 1982, beginning in 1983 the growth of NI and a dynamic development of all economy were resumed. At the same time, the balance of payments and trade with the socialist countries was maintained and the indebtedness to the capitalist states was substantially reduced. By the same token the CSSR's cooperation with the CEMA countries during this period was expanded. Their share in total foreign trade of the CSSR rose from 65.5 percent in 1980 to 73.5 percent in 1984.

In conjunction with the initial base for the coordination of the further national economic development of the CEMA member countries, it is necessary to underscore the significant fact that the mutual exchange of commodities planned for 1984 and 1985 is being fulfilled and exceeded.

The departmental commissions of the CEMA began their coordinating program with the updating of joint prognoses for the development of appropriate branches (mostly to the year 2000), which enabled them to determine the directions for the development of mutual cooperation in economy and R&D, of which about 40 have been updated. The most relevant of them were discussed also by the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning.

The CEMA Committee for Planning assessed in particular the conclusions of national prognoses for the national economic development of the CEMA member countries according to the most important summary economic indicators up to the year 2000; a prognosis for the balance of fuel and energy of the CEMA member countries until the year 2000 was prepared.

Of extraordinary importance for the coordination program was the consultation organized by the Committee for Cooperation in Planning, dealing with problems of the socioeconomic development and mutual cooperation of the CEMA member states and on main directions for their cooperation in economy and R&D for the 1986-1990 period. It was noted that at present most CEMA countries have reached economically efficient and justified limits in the development of their raw material branches and mining industry and that they may count on their

appropriate development in the next period. The qualitative aspect must be emphasized, i.e., substantial conservation and rational utilization of the resources of fuels, energy and raw materials, and a comprehensive development of cooperation in this area. Thus, economic relations in processing industry, above all, the development of specialization and cooperation in engineering, represent the main directions for the further intensification and improvement of socialist economic integration and for the growth of mutual exchange of goods.

Moreover, the Committee for Cooperation in Planning discussed issues related to multilateral coordination of long-term (7-10 year) comprehensive concepts for the development of specialization and cooperation in key production areas, which were specified by departmental agencies.

The CEMA Commission for Cooperation in R&D processed in detail the R&D prognoses for key departments the problems of department subdivisions for the period to the year 2000, and on the basis of challenging programs it had initiated in agreement with the top-level Economic Consultation, it began the preparations for a comprehensive program for progress in R&D and for its coordination for a period of 15-20 years, which will make possible close correlation of the R&D advances with the base of production and with capital investment.

While coordinating the plans all CEMA agencies focused special attention on proposals for an accelerated development and greater efficiency of the economies of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam which are building socialism under especially difficult conditions and which need the aid and support of other CEMA countries.

The range of specific issues of cooperation in the sphere of material production, which was discussed in the first stage of coordination and completed in the second stage, was relatively broad. In particular, 64 problems approved in the program of plan coordination for the 1986-1990 period were dealt with in detail.

CEMA agencies then approved other documents on cooperation (programs, agreements, contracts, records) specified by the interested countries as concrete measures, among them in particular:

--general agreements on cooperation in microprocessor technology, robotization and the microelectronic technical base, signed at the 36th CEMA session in 1982;

--comprehensive measures for better cooperation in supplying CEMA member countries with products of food industry, approved at the 37th CEMA session in 1983 (they complement the long-germ goal-oriented programs of cooperation in this area);

--comprehensive long-term measures, approved at the 39th CEMA session in 1984 (DKO) for the purpose of providing energy, fuels and raw materials for the national needs of the CEMA member countries, and their economical utilization, and specific proposals for cooperation in this area to cover all needs of the

member countries for the period to 1990 and after. These long-term comprehensive measures follow the long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation approved in 1978, render them more specific, and amend them;

--the program for cooperation of the CEMA member countries in economical and rational exploitation of their material resources the year 2000.

The measures contained in the above-mentioned and other documents, whose timetable has been extended in most cases until the year 2000, represent common goals and tasks for a number of vital areas and mean a step forward in coordination of economic policies of the CEMA member countries. The adopted measures of cooperation are being specified according to their actual urgency, or as the case may be, according to the possibility of providing them fully with material and financial funds for the next 5-year plan of the CEMA member countries, because it has been estimated that the implementation of programs included in the DKO alone will require 50 billion convertible rubles. Among those programs are, for instance, the construction of the long-distance gasline connecting [Hamburg] with the western border of the USSR, the Krivoy Rog works for mining and processing of oxidized ores, an aluminum plant on the USSR territory, cooperation in the construction of nuclear power and heating plants and in exploitation of natural gas as fuel in transportation.

The second stage of plan coordination began in the second half of 1984, i.e., at a time when appropriate national agencies of the CEMA member countries had already specified or approved main directions for the socioeconomic development until 1990, or 2000.

The course toward intensification of production, all-around conservation of material and labor resources based on R&D achievements, as well as improved control of national economy has already been introduced in all, especially European, CEMA countries. In that spirit bilateral programs of specialization and cooperation were adopted for the period to 1990 at the beginning of the current 5-year plan. Appropriate documentation provided basic outlines of the main strategic directions for an economic rapprochement of the interested countries. During the preparations for coordination in the 1986-1990 period it seemed necessary in a number of cases to further specify the adopted programs and to amend them so that--in agreement with the Economic Consultations--they express more accurately the purpose of accelerated implementation of R&D achievements in production and intensification of socialist economic integration. Above all, it was clear that the schedule for programs must be extended to the year 2000 in order to make possible broader and deeper interrelation of the policies of cooperation in R&D and economy. Several programs have already been signed, for example, between the USSR and the GDR, the USSR and Cuba, the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, and the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic. On 31 May 1985 Comrades Gustav Husak and Mikhail Gorbachov signed the program for long-term cooperation in economy and R&D between the CSSR and the USSR for the period to the year 2000. The CSSR will conclude similar programs with other CEMA countries. The long-term program of cooperation with the USSR holds the key position for the CSSR and other CEMA countries.

Coordination of plans for the 1986-1990 5-year period thus represents an improved, comprehensive system for the development of cooperation directly related to the drafting of national plans of individual CEMA member countries. One of the most difficult and complex problems in plan coordination is the correlation of the projected changes in international socialist division of labor (MSDP) which the individual CEMA member countries have adopted for the long-term development of their economy.

The previous MSDP was based on an extensive economic development which corresponded with inter-departmental cooperation according to which the CEMA member countries supplied the USSR with finished products of their processing industries in exchange for fuels, energy and raw materials. Mutual exchange of goods between the USSR and other CEMA countries, which characterizes this division of labor, has continued even after 1980 and served as a springboard for the development of economic relations over the next 5 years and at the same time, also a base for better departmental specialization of the CEMA member states. The following situation was achieved in 1983:

Table 2.

<u>Item</u>		<u>CEMA Countries with the USSR</u>	<u>CSSR and USSR</u>	<u>Other CEMA Coun- tries without the CSSR and USSR</u>
1. Machinery and equipment	Export	51.4	66.4	68.4
	Import	22.7	19.7	23.4
2. Fuels, energy, raw materials and supplies	Export	15.1	13.1	15.6
	Import	72.4	78.3	71.1
3. Agricultural raw materials and food	Export	18.4	1.7	21.8
	Import	2.0	0.7	2.3
4. Consumer goods	Export	14.8	18.8	14.0
	Import	2.5	1.3	2.8

Fuels, energy, raw materials and supplies constitute more than 72 percent of total imports from the USSR to the CEMA member countries. Machinery and equipment amount to less than 23 percent. On the other hand, their export structure is more regular.

If we examine the commodity relations of individual member countries with the USSR, some differences appear. As for the CSSR's relations with the USSR, an above-average passive balance is evident in the group of fuels and raw materials; however, it is covered to a far greater extent with machinery and equipment (71.6 percent) and consumer goods (26.8 percent). As compared with other CEMA countries, the main difference is that the CSSR has practically no active balance in agricultural raw materials and food.

For a comprehensive review of the CSSR's exchange of goods with all CEMA member countries we present its structure with other CEMA countries (not

including the USSR) in percent (V = export; D = import; S = balance):

Table 3.

Item	1983	
1. Machinery and equipment	V	60.1
	D	57.9
	S	+ 2.2
2. Fuels, energy, raw materials and supplies	V	26.2
	D	21.8
	S	+ 4.4
3. Agricultural raw materials and food	V	1.8
	D	9.9
	S	- 8.1
4. Consumer goods	V	11.9
	D	10.4
	S	+ 1.5

In these relations all groups of commodities demonstrate gross balance. The CSSR must repay 45 percent of its passive balance in food with machinery and equipment, 33.3 percent with fuels and raw materials, and 21 percent with consumer goods.

While the coordination of the plans for the next 5-year period is under way, in agreement with the conversion of national economies to an intensive type of economy, the fulcrum of mutual exchange of goods will be shifted to the cooperation of department subdivisions, particularly in engineering, not only as concerns finished products, but also their modules and components. Data indicate that international socialist division of labor has enormous untapped resources in the processing industry, especially in trade with machinery and equipment. Therefore, the CEMA countries are implementing measures in particular to upgrade technical standards, reliability and quality of their machinery and equipment exports and to develop their structure of production in accordance with the demands expressed by their partners during plan coordination.

In conclusion of the coordination of national economic plans, its specific results negotiated on multilateral and bilateral bases will be confirmed this year in bilateral agreements which will be signed by the chairmen of central planning agencies of appropriate CEMA countries with the proviso that national plans for the period under discussion reflect mutual obligations. This time the final records will also note in some form and fashion the results of the coordination of economic policies in areas related to mutual cooperation in coordination of investment programs. The participants will appropriately specify in final records all obligations stemming for them from the concluded agreements on cooperation. On the basis of the concluded coordinating records, whose appendices list the agreements on mutual deliveries of goods, the

ministries of foreign trade of the partner countries will conclude before the end of 1985 long-term trade agreements for the 1986-1990 period.

However, the work does not end with the signing of final records, because coordination of plans is a continuous process. The CEMA countries and agencies will continue to deal with the unresolved issues; additional agreements of cooperation, particularly on specialization and cooperation in production, including rebuilding and modernization of processing industries, will be prepared on the bilateral and multilateral level for signing.

The CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning will assess the results of the coordination of national economic plans for 1986-1990 and top CEMA agencies will review and discuss them in the first half of 1986.

9004/12859

CSO: 2400/104

STABLE TRADE WITH FRG DESPITE VITAL ENERGY, MACHINE PURCHASES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Aug 85 p 11

[Text] Berlin, 21 August--Shortly before the beginning of the new 5-year plan in 1986 the GDR has again stocked up sharply on its supplies from the FRG. Last year the GDR had run up a surplus of DM 508 million in inner-German trade, but then in the first 6 months of 1985 deliveries from the FRG exceeded purchases from the GDR by DM 164 million. As a spokesman at the Ministry for Economics stated in Berlin, this development will probably continue in the second half of the year, to judge by existing orders.

In the first 6 months, sales in inner-German trade rose by 7 percent from DM 7.7 million to DM 8 billion. While purchases from the GDR showed a very small drop of 2 percent, or DM 78 million, to DM 3.295 billion, deliveries from the FRG increased by 17 percent, or DM 595 million, to DM 4.089 billion. They were substantially ahead of the growth of total exports from the FRG, which were about 13 percent above the level of last year. Ignoring services, which traditionally show a deficit for the GDR, the GDR had a surplus of DM 152 million in straightforward exchange of goods, against DM 875 million in the first half of last year.

Not the least of the causes of the turnaround in exchange of goods was the hard winter, during which the GDR made purchases of additional coal for DM 128 million and petroleum products for DM 47 million from the FRG to eliminate shortages in energy supplies. In addition, the GDR also ordered more investment goods, machinery and electrotechnical products. Finally, the GDR purchased more consumer goods from the FRG.

In Bonn the expectation is for inner-German trade to reach a volume of DM 16.1 billion for the entire year. At the Ministry for Economics this development is seen as a normalization of inner-German trade in goods, which is resuming its "previous normal level."

The possibility cannot be excluded that the GDR will once more intensify its efforts to increase its deliveries to the FRG if the dollar continues to decline in value. Faced with a high rate of exchange for the dollar, the GDR clearly was trying to sell some of the products that had been offered to the FRG in the dollar area.

The GDR's debt in the West, according to the intelligence of the ministry in Bonn, was \$ 8.36 billion in the spring, about \$300 million more than at the end of 1983. Added to this are credits estimated at about \$2.5 billion which were not included by the Bank for the International Balance of Payments. Against this, the GDR had unchanged assets of \$4.49 billion in Western banks. The debt of the CEMA countries, the East's counterpart to the EEC, is currently about \$62 billion. Poland's debt alone is \$27 billion.

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CSO: 2300/140

BRIEFS

FREIGHTER INVENTORY REDUCED--The size of the GDR's merchant fleet declined by 1.8 percent from 1983 to 1984. At the beginning of the current year, as just completed investigations show, it comprised 173 ships, totalling 1.21 million gross register tons (grt) or 1.68 tons deadweight (tdw). During the period examined, two used bulk freighters, each of 43,400 tdw and purchased from the Hamburg shipping company Alfred C. Toepfer, and a break-bulk freighter of 17,300 tdw, a newly built ship from the Warno yard, were added, but they did not make up for the greater losses in the GDR's merchant marine. In the year studied, 2 tankers of 40,000 tons capacity each were sold, as well as a break-bulk freighter of 5,000 tdw. A bulk freighter (39,000 tdw) sank in a heavy storm, and another break-bulk freighter had to be written off as a total loss following sabotage off Angola. More than half of the GDR's fleet falls into the category of universal break-bulk freighters, which adds up to 905,000 tdw. The remainder is composed of 18 bulk freighters (a total of 443,000 tdw), 4 tankers (77,000 tdw), 3 con-bulk freighters (70,000 tdw), 7 ro-ro ships (41,000 tdw), 10 timber carriers (44,000 tdw), 15 coastal motor ships (12,000 tdw), 10 refrigerated carriers (70,000 tdw) and 9 container carriers (9,000 tdw). GDR freighters carried 12.77 million tons of cargo last year. Compared with the benchmark year, that is an increase of 7.1 percent. The range of cargo included 5.67 million tons of mixed cargo (up 5.5 percent), 1.85 million tons of liquid cargo (up 17.3 percent), 1.83 million tons of iron ore (up 5.3 percent), 570,000 tons of wood (up 9 percent) and 980,000 tons of coal. The increase in the coal sector was 50 percent. Container shipments in mixed cargo traffic have risen to 900,000 tons, equal to a growth rate of 2.4 percent. Shipments were 19.1 percent above the performance threshold in container handling for GDR ports. This has to do with the fact that quite a large part of the GDR fleet's shipping performance is achieved in what is known as cross-trade. Last year it was 5 million tons, or 39.1 percent of the total shipping output achieved by GDR trade tonnage. One year earlier the share had been slightly higher, 40.6 percent. At the present time the GDR's merchant fleet has only half a dozen container ships with an individual capacity of 7,960 tons under construction in Spanish shipyards. They are to be used in service in the Mediterranean. The domestic shipbuilding industry is working almost 100 percent for foreign shipowners. The GDR fleet will not have any ships from its own yards for some considerable time. Four of the ships ordered in Spain are to be delivered by the end of the year. The remaining two units will enter service in 1986. [Text] [Hamburg DEUTSCHE VERKEHRS-ZEITUNG in German 3 Aug 85 p9] 9581

LIGNITE PRODUCTION TO INCREASE--A new open-cast mine will commence coal production next year right outside Leipzig. With the opening of the Breitenfeld mine the Leipzig Bezirk will produce about 23 percent of the GDR's raw brown coal. The Bezirk has 34 percent of briquet production and 90 percent of carbochemical production. In 1987 another open-cast mine in Roesa is to begin coal production. In conjunction with the expansion of the mines, about 400 families in the Leipzig Bezirk will have to be "relocated" in 1986. These numbers were made public at the most recent session of the Bezirk government. The expansion of brown coal production is creating problems for the residents of Leipzig, because in the next few years, for the first time, woodland and green areas in the exposition city will be devastated or damaged. Against this, Leipzig is the most densely populated large city in the GDR, with just under 4,000 inhabitants per square kilometer. But the wooded area in the high density area of Leipzig is very small. The ecologically questionable removal of wooded areas in the Leipzig Bezirk as the result of coal mining--stands of woods have suffered an absolute decline of 440 hectares since 1900 in spite of afforestation--will, however, be stopped. The wooded areas are to increase again, although it must be taken into consideration that new plantings do not have the same quality as established woods. In Leipzig itself new parks are to be established as a balance. The GDR plans to expand coal production even further. Next year 314 million tons are to be mined. [Text] [Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 193 17 Dec 85 p 1] 9581

CSO: 2300/140

MAROTHY CONFIDENT ON SEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Deputy Premier Dr Laszlo Marothy: "A Program of Creative Work"]

[Text] Each year we review the results and stresses of our economy, and the principal tasks in the coming year. The exercise on this occasion is the more complicated because we are at the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and on the threshold of the Seventh. Consequently, our analysis of the past must cover a period of five years, and so does our projection of the future.

A suitable starting point for our review is to examine what is public opinion's main concern at present. In this holiday season it is only natural that the public mainly wants to know when will our economic results provide the basis for a perceptible rise of our living standard and improvement of our living conditions. We are pleased to be able to establish, however, that our people are not merely voicing their requirements, but are also viewing realistically the conditions that must be met to fulfill them, and that they are keenly interested in the 7th Five-Year Plan's social and economic program.

In the public debates on the plan's concept, speakers have expressed also their doubts. These views that reflect a sense of responsibility and concern may be summed up as follows: Do we have the means necessary to achieve the targets of the 7th Five-Year Plan? Up to 21 December, this was unquestionably the most timely question. But last week the National Assembly, after lengthy and thorough preparation, passed the Law on the 7th Five-Year Plan. The coming period, therefore, will be one in which society will have to mobilize all its strength for the plan's fulfillment.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of our existing conditions and possibilities, what kind of social and economic program have we been able to set for ourselves for the next five years? A program that starts out strictly from reality and is based on facts. We must take cognizance of the fact that a sudden favorable turnaround is not feasible. Our objective, therefore, cannot be anything other than to close the phase of consolidation, so as to concentrate our efforts on accelerating economic growth. This realistic concept is formulated as a set of objectives ranked by priorities, a set in which some elements may briefly receive greater emphasis than the others, but all the elements constitute an integral whole under the plan period.

During the five years through 1990, we must work to accelerate economic growth in comparison with the average for the 1981-1985 period, to advance further in technical and technological development, and--parallel with meeting the equilibrium requirements that will remain tight--to increase national income's domestic use, in contrast with its decline in recent years. The purpose of this last objective is to achieve a perceptible improvement of the population's living standard, to increase the proportion of national income that may be spent on development projects, and to substantially slow down the rate at which prices are rising.

We expect national income to increase by between 15 and 17 percent in five years (or by about 3 percent a year); industrial production, by between 14 and 16 percent; the volume of construction and installation work in place, by between 12 and 15 percent; and farm production, by between 7 and 10 percent.

We will further reduce our total hard-currency debt, and to this end we must achieve a significant trade surplus also in the future. The socialist sector's investment will increase only from 1987 on; but by 1990 it will already be 25 to 30 percent higher than its present level. What we are relying on is that greater economic efficiency than at present will trigger the economy's acceleration. Therefore the efficiency requirements are high: labor productivity must increase by between 21 and 23 percent in five years, and the decline must be halted of the efficiency of fixed capital. We expect the specific consumption of materials to improve by 1 percent a year, and the consumption of energy may increase only 0.4 percentage point for every percentage point of rise in national income. In the final outcome the so-called overall efficiency, which expresses the combined efficiency of the various productive factors, must improve by between 17 and 19 percent.

These targets are unquestionably stepped-up ones, especially if we consider the possibilities of utilizing the intensive sources of economic growth.

However, the feasibility of fulfilling the targets cannot be judged solely on the basis of their scale. For this we need to see our starting situation and to consider also the factors on whose tractive power the plan's concept has been based.

When evaluating our starting situation, we cannot disregard the critical state of our economy five years ago. At that time we set survival, the maintenance of solvency, as our basic objective, and we treated the restoration of equilibrium as a primary requirement. Meanwhile, regrettably, the external economic conditions became significantly more severe. Protectionism spread, a financial crisis developed, and we were forced to repay our debts at a faster rate than we had planned. Our terms of trade in our major markets worsened by substantially more than had been predicted. In trade denominated in convertible currency, for example, in 1974-1984 we lost close to a year's national income because our import prices rose faster than the export prices.

In spite of all this, we have survived. And we must appreciate our survival also in the light of international comparisons. We have remained solvent and have enhanced our international reputation. Favorable processes have started regarding the consumption of materials, productivity, and import intensity.

In the difficult period just ending, we have laid the foundations on which we are able to build, and on the basis of which a way out of our difficulties can begin to unfold.

We are aware that the stake in the coming years will be a historical one: if we prove unable to combine our intellectual and material assets and to harness them in the service of acceleration--unable, in other words, to start narrowing the gap--then we will fall behind the progressive technological and economic trends, and the developing international field.

Which factors of growth are we relying on?

Let us consider first the external conditions of developing our economy. It is common knowledge that Hungary has an extremely open economy: more than 40 percent of our national income is realized in our external economic relations.

We are forced to import essential raw materials, sources of energy, and advanced technology. The world economy's vibrations affect us very sensitively. Consequently, the relaxation of the international climate and the intensification of international cooperation are in our basic interest.

We would like to expand our relations with every country, on the principle of mutual advantages. We reject the very idea of isolation and technological warfare.

Since the Geneva summit we have reason to hope that in general the international conditions of our work will not worsen further. At least not if we utilize more efficiently the advantages inherent in socialist economic integration, and if we increase the ability of our economy to respond, with due consideration also for the trends evident in the capitalist economic sphere.

It can be established that negative trends invariably are asserting themselves in the most advanced capitalist economies: many countries are continuing their embargo policy and are striving to monopolize the most advanced technologies, and scientific and technical knowledge. The prospects of development are extremely differentiated, and the work of the countries that are slow to adapt is ruthlessly devalued by international standards.

At the same time--partially to offset the aforementioned processes--new emphasis is being placed on economic cooperation within CEMA; in addition to the supply of raw materials and equipment, there have been adopted planning and concentrated material, intellectual and organizational measures to improve the efficiency of scientific and technical cooperation, and of cooperation in the machine industry, which is decisive from the viewpoint of acceleration. The dynamic changes that are taking place in Soviet macroeconomic management could have an especially great impact on the Hungarian economy's growth potential. Economic growth and the acceleration of scientific and technical development have clearly been assigned priority in the documents prepared for the 27th CPSU Congress and in the Soviet Union's 12th Five-Year Plan, and new emphasis has been placed on augmenting the material bases of socialism and on improving the population's living conditions.

Therefore we realistically believe that basically the external factors will not hamper our development, and that the acceleration of socialist integration, and of the Soviet economy's development in particular, will increasingly stimulate our economic growth as well. But we must not foster illusions, and are not fostering any! Nobody will solve our tasks in our stead. Primarily here at home, we ourselves must create the resources necessary to solve our difficulties. And to this end we must streamline our attitudes first of all. Everyone who is economically active must realize that considerable additional energy can be released by combining our resources. In this sense we believe that the Hungarian economy's better adaptation to the world economy's trends, particularly its purposeful participation in the progressive programs of socialist integration, the harmonization of personal and collective creativeness and of central coordination, and the establishment of the financial conditions necessary for the assertion of incentives and interests will multiply the attainable results, instead of simply adding to them. In this sense, then, we feel that we should be striving for the most efficient utilization of the available resources, instead of bemoaning their paucity.

This is why we expect that the combined effect of the following factors will be sufficient to fulfill the 7th Five-Year Plan's targets: perfection of the system of macroeconomic management to stimulate enterprise and individual independence, entrepreneurship, and willingness to innovate; the central development programs that will help to "ignite" the economy; scientific research that will accelerate technological development; and the general improvement of society's work ethic.

The modernization to date of our system of macroeconomic management is serving well the realization of our objectives. The perfection of planning methods, the division of labor in government control of the economy, the new forms of the flow of productive capital, and the more consistent application of the various elements of the system of regulation can enhance the plan's fulfillment even more.

In accordance with the standpoint that the MSZMP Central Committee adopted in April 1984, we are continuing the perfection of our system of macroeconomic management. The economic climate must be transformed in the direction of intensifying the incentives and pressures to improve efficiency. The next steps will affect such very important areas as, for example, the transformation of the system of financial institutions, the modernization of the enterprises' income tax and personal income tax, further development of the conditions for economic competition, or the treatment of permanently insolvent enterprises more in line with our structural policy.

Our starting situation today not only provides a good basis for the coming plan's fulfillment, but it also reveals our weaknesses whose elimination we regard as a task of high priority. We must narrow the technological gap that separates us from the developed countries. We must organize our investment projects more efficiently because they are tying down too long resources that are not yielding any return. Production's material intensity and energy intensity must be reduced because at present they are 25 to 30 percent higher than the international averages that serve as standards. To become more competitive

internationally, we must improve the quality and utility characteristics of a significant proportion of our products, and upgrade the workers' skills. In sum, there can be no doubt that efficiency must be raised considerably to find a way out of our present difficulties. We must implement programs and drives that will cut costs and increase the proportion of modern products. Primarily the enterprises must solve this task within their own competence. But the central programs of economic development and action programs that are closely linked to the plan serve the same purpose. One group of these programs aims to reduce costs.

By implementing the central development program related to the utilization of energy resources, we wish to achieve first of all absolute savings in energy consumption. So far as the content of this program is concerned, it calls for the development of energy-efficient technologies and equipment, the reduction of losses in energy conversion, and the wider use of renewable sources of energy. We will be spending about 40 billion forints during the five years for such purposes. As a result, we will be able to save as much energy as we can generate by burning 1.0 million metric tons of petroleum (half of our domestic production)! The specific measures include, for example, improvement of the grades of domestic coal, modernization of the metallurgical processes, the briquetting of waste, and thermostatic control of the various heating systems.

We will spend about 25 billion forints on reducing the specific consumption of materials and on modernizing the technologies that directly serve this purpose. We must achieve, for example, smaller inputs of steel, cement or manufactured fertilizer per unit of final product. With the specific programs that serve this purpose, we will be able to avoid wasting between 15 and 20 billion forints' worth of materials annually. Naturally, this is again a program that cannot be considered by itself. Rationalization of the consumption of materials requires lighter and more efficient machinery, and the production of such machinery requires in its turn new processes and the application of the advances in electronics.

Large volumes of iron, paper, rubber, plastic, chemical and agricultural scrap, waste and by-products are produced in Hungary that are reusable. We are earmarking between 11 and 13 billion forints for this purpose, and thus the proportion of recycling could amount to 60 percent by 1990. It is easy to see that recycling reduces the energy intensity and the cost of materials as well.

The second group of central development and action programs serves the more complete and more concentrated realization of our potential (e.g., development of the production of pharmaceuticals, plant protectants and chemical intermediaries, and spreading the application of biotechnological processes), respectively the faster development of the most modern production activities (for example, the wide-scale application of electronics within entire society, and robotics).

We have elaborated programs to reduce the national economy's transportation intensity, to alleviate the problems of the supplier industries, and also for environmental protection.

Of outstanding importance is the electronics program, because of its impact on entire society. Its implementation extends to the production of electronic components, the areas of application (telecommunications, for example) that use such components, and also to the educational system and the public administration system that serve to spread computer literacy and sophistication in electronics applications.

We have earmarked between 125 to 150 billion forints for the realization of these programs. If this amount is spent prudently, it will be possible to control the technological processes that can reduce costs through automatic measuring, quality control, and the maintenance of dimensional tolerances. Automation and robots can replace man in the processes that require close monitoring, involve heavy physical labor or are injurious to health. The various telecommunications systems, medical instruments, and consumer electronics products will significantly influence the quality of life, including leisure time and the delivery of health care.

It should be emphasized once again that the central development and action programs are interlinked, constituting an integrated system also in terms of their control and impact. (For example, it is obvious that the modernization of telecommunications, the faster flow of information, and the simplification of the procurement of materials will result in savings of time and energy.)

We will aid the realization of the programs with central financing, development-fund grants, and various tax concessions as well.

The interdependent accelerating factors of economic growth constitute a system also in the sense that each of them has its own research and development program. Namely, dynamic growth based on more efficient operation demands, to a much greater extent than heretofore, the fastest possible practical application of the results of science, research and technological development.

To close our gap, we must increase first of all the proportion of intellectual effort in our work, the role of creative work. During the plan period, therefore, we will be spending between 152 and 164 billion forints on research and development.

The most important tasks are included in the research and development plan. It identifies the topics and problems on which we must concentrate our resources, in order to fulfill our planned targets.

The National Medium-Range Research and Development Plan places emphasis primarily on electronics applications, material and energy conservation, scrap and waste recycling, and biotechnology, respectively on researching the fundamental principles of biology. We will have to achieve a qualitative change in the relationship between research and development on the one hand, and production on the other.

This will require, in addition to unified command and control, also the establishment and consolidation of additional agile and innovative organizations able to undertake the commercial development, and subsequently the full-scale

marketing, of the research results' practical applications. We must create the economic pressure and social climate that will restore the social prestige of the creative technical intellectuals. The sooner this happens, the faster outstanding talents will begin to compete for positions in fields that contribute the most to the national economy. Because, in the absence of suitable social recognition, personal talents are not put to use where they could be the most effective from the viewpoint of society. Yet this, too, is a "factor of economic growth" whose accelerating effect we have justifiably taken into account. For we are convinced that our problems will be alleviated considerably if we appreciate our material and intellectual assets and spread the work ethic. Twenty percent of the available working time is being wasted at present! Day after day we get reports of senseless vandalism directed against public property (telephones, transportation equipment, parks, museums, etc.). Our public opinion should realize that in work which is better organized and more disciplined, and in mature and responsible civic behavior, there are reserves for economic growth and a higher living standard, reserves that are by no means negligible.

To fulfill the targets of our 7th Five-Year Plan, we must draw on these reserves as well!

Then what is our answer to the initial question? We may state unequivocally that we do have the means to realize the 7th Five-Year Plan's social and economic program. The necessary conditions are ensured to a large extent, or they realistically can be ensured by consistently fulfilling the human and professional requirements targeted in the plan. The first and most important step toward success is that we now be of one mind regarding our tasks, and that everyone do his utmost for the plan's fulfillment. Only in this way can we achieve faster development. Only in this way can we contribute toward the improvement of our living conditions and the strengthening of our socialist social system.

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CSO: 2500/135

POSITION IN WORLD MARKETS DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jan 86 p 5

[Interview with Mrs Ferenc Nyitrai, state secretary, chairman of the Central Statistical Office, by Gabor Istvan Benedek: "Our Country's Position and Rank in the World Market"; date and place not given; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] We notice, occasionally with soaring spirits and at other times with anxiety, how quickly the world around us changes. The advances in engineering make our lives more comfortable and more interesting, and we move about more familiarly in nature and within society. But the paucity of our resources curbs our good mood, and on grimmer days it occasionally undermines even our confidence in the effectiveness of our work. Are we able to stand the competition? What respect have our zealous efforts won for us among our partners? As we seek the answers to these questions together with State Secretary Mrs Ferenc Nyitrai, the chairman of the Central Statistical Office, the first thing we must clarify is as follows:

[Question] How do you view the world economy now, at the start of a new year? What changes have there been recently? And which are the principal factors that determine international trade, and within it East-West trade?

[Answer] The political situation that influences the world economy has been changing auspiciously since November 1985, although the effect of this change is of course not evident in international trade relations as yet. As a result of the Soviet-American summit meeting, the earlier tensions will hopefully be relaxed in the near future. Within CEMA, the part of the world economy in which we directly belong, the end of this year--according to our plans and expectations--will mark the beginning of a long period of prosperity. For the CEMA countries have begun the elaboration of a new program that will run through the end of this millenium, a program that offers also the Hungarian economy opportunity for faster growth.

In Midfield

So far as the changes in the world economy during the past 5 to 10 years are concerned, the picture is unambiguously clear. Here primarily the American economy's fluctuating growth is the decisive factor. The five-year period just ending undoubtedly looks better than the deep recession of the preceding

five years. Not only because the capitalist economies' growth has been faster, but also because the propensity to invest has increased parallel with the structural changes, and this has generated additional demand in a good many areas that directly affect Hungary's export markets. A favorable effect can be expected from the decline this year of oil prices in the international markets; if this trend continues, it may have a favorable impact on our economy as well. Parallel with this, regrettably, the earlier growth rate has been arrested in our other markets, particularly in countries of the third world. Because of their indebtedness, our trading partners buy from us practically only when we buy from them. And since the supply they have to offer is limited, this solution is not always a favorable one from our point of view.

In the socialist countries, as I have mentioned, the model of economic development is now evolving that favors countries of our size, especially the ones engaged in manufacturing. In the early 1980's, however, several of the smaller CEMA countries--ourselves included--were plagued by problems. To achieve a surplus in their trade with capitalist countries, they were forced to curtail their investment and consumption, a formula familiar to the Hungarian economy as well. This constraint did not have a favorable effect on trade between socialist countries, either. The CEMA countries are now streamlining their cooperation and are setting directions that will pave the way for rapid growth in high-tech industries, specifically in microelectronics, electronics, and biotechnology. Naturally, this large-scale work requires joint effort: in addition to intensive mutual relations of a new type, also fruitful cooperation with the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries as well.

[Question] What do the statistics show? Have we been able to keep pace with the international economic, scientific-technical and trade processes? And if not, where do you consider our lag to be the most serious?

[Answer] Our statistics clearly show that even in the past few years, which have been very difficult ones for us, we have been able to maintain our position in the international, and particularly the European, midfield. This in itself is an achievement, especially if we consider that several countries have caught up with us, and therefore the field is denser. In some respects our situation is better than average. In several areas within microelectronics and biotechnology, we are closer to the leaders of the international field than in some of the traditional sectors of the machine industry, and I think that we ought to make better use of this comparative advantage. We are closer to the lead in the pharmaceutical industry, especially in terms of the quality and assortment of the produced active ingredients.

Taking everything into consideration, we may say that in general our lag is the greatest where development is highly investment-intensive. We have not been able to undertake a meaningful modernization of our ferrous metallurgy in recent years and decades, and to introduce in the machine industry the latest advances in modern engineering.

Of course, not the more modest growth of the investment volume is in itself the problem. A much more likely cause is the fact that often we are not using efficiently even our available investment resources. Our development projects

are not coordinated adequately. Instead of formulating our concept along the entire chain of innovation, we have singled out for modernization only a given stage of production, but the immediately preceding and following stages have remained the same--and as obsolete, we might add--as before. This is, I believe, one of the reasons why the efficiency of our investments is relatively low. But there is also another reason: it is common knowledge that the construction time of some of our investment projects is too long. The biggest problem, in my opinion, is that the long awaited and justifiably demanded restructuring of our industry has not occurred: the introduction of new products and activities remains invariably slow, and the slow phaseout of obsolete products is holding down our growth rate.

[Question] Are you studying the situation of countries whose conditions are similar to ours? Are you analyzing their answers to the challenge of our time, to the requirements of scientific and technological progress, to the changes in the raw-material and energy situation, and to the questions of international finance and credit crisis? How can the findings of these investigations be applied to Hungarian planning, macroeconomic management, and implementation?

[Answer] An important task of Hungarian statistics is to provide answers to these questions. We have been devoting increasing attention to international comparisons in practically every branch of the economy already since the mid-1960's, and also in social analyses since the late 1970's and early 1980's. We have participated mainly in the assessments of the CEMA Standing Committee on Statistics, and in the European and world surveys sponsored by the United Nations. We often propose bilateral comparisons and prepare also multilateral comparisons. Recently, for example, we investigated the performance of Hungary's agriculture and, within it, the international situation in corn production. We compared the performances and production conditions of 23 countries. Using a relatively long (1970-1984) time series, we investigated the international situation of our industry, its place in the economy as a whole, the structural changes within industry, the questions of manpower management and productivity, and the interrelations of investments. Planning has already taken our findings into consideration. To cite some examples also from the scope of social studies, we have compared the social index numbers of Austria and Hungary, the life expectancy at birth, the relationship between the family's social status and the number of children, the mortality rates, the availability of health care, the situation in education, and the influencing factors.

We mostly prepare our analyses jointly with the partner countries. This enables us to find out their responses to the shocks in the world economy during the 1970's and 1980's; or more accurately, by what methods they have succeeded to overcome the negative effects of these shocks. I may say without exaggeration that the political and economic leadership awaits and demands these comparisons, and occasionally it even commissions us to broaden our international investigations in some specified direction.

Development of Manufacturing

[Question] What is your assessment of our efforts to date to transform the productive sphere's structure? What does international experience indicate?

In its light, which are the areas where we must accelerate the narrowing of our gap, and mainly what resources can we use for this purpose?

[Answer] Statistics evaluates only facts. As we very well know, there have been several resolutions and measures regarding the productive sphere's structural transformation. I myself consider as the most important the so-called resolution on structural policy and the external economy, which the MSZMP Central Committee adopted on 20 October 1977. But the practical implementation of this resolution was proceeding very slowly already in the late 1970's, and the second oil price shock had an especially unfavorable impact on the further course of implementation. To date, therefore, we have not done much for the meaningful implementation of this resolution. We undoubtedly need more and better organized investments to narrow our gap. It is essential, I believe, to allot a larger share of the investment rate to manufacturing, and even within it to a few well-defined areas earmarked for development. For it became evident over the years that things had not been proceeding entirely in accordance with the government's aspirations. I will cite merely one example. Every forint of investment in microelectronics gives a return several times greater than the return on investing the same amount of forints in, say, the production of basic materials. For in the case of microelectronics applications we have to take into consideration not only the direct return, but also the fact that the performances and results are built into the entire Hungarian economy, and therefore their impact is multiplied.

The following, on the other hand, is something that could apply already to the immediate future: In my opinion, an instrument has been formulated that conforms to the spirit and resolved principles of economic renewal, an instrument that is able--as also international experience demonstrates--to enhance a more dynamic economic upswing. This instrument is embodied in the central programs of economic development. Concepts that promote a few tasks in a concentrated manner and help to develop production more forcefully could prove more effective in coaxing economic performances that are still being held in reserve. Under the 7th Five-Year Plan, for example, this is how the electronics and microelectronics program will be continued. And so far as the resources are concerned, I expect much primarily from the better and more purposeful utilization of our domestic possibilities. Naturally, foreign resources will support these efforts and enhance their success perhaps to an even greater extent than at present. I have in mind particularly loans from the World Bank, but we can expect to attract also the available capital of other countries for investment in Hungary.

[Question] You have studied on several occasions the problems of productivity and efficiency. Just recently you defended, before the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, your doctoral dissertation on national economic efficiency and its reserves. Do you feel that you have been able to influence development with your investigations and findings?

[Answer] I believe that this question is addressed to the economic analyst, rather than to the chairman of the Central Statistical Office. But work of this type is unable to exert a direct influence. In my opinion, we form mainly the attitudes when we analyze data and investigate the causes and interrelations. We convincingly see daily that our findings are helping development.

For example, by provoking debate and compelling the participants to think through the factors hampering development. The important thing in this debate is not that I be proven right, but that we identify the methods by which we can find a way out of our difficulties sooner. I myself have formulated this requirement as follows: today it is not enough to discuss merely the economic aspects of efficiency, because its social effects must also be considered, specifically in their interactions. I hope that in the coming years I will have the strength and time to continue my investigations in this field.

[Question] The world market has set a high standard for us, and man's role in the economic processes has increased. Are the qualifications and training of our business specialists--of our economists, foreign traders, engineers, and production workers--adequate to enable us to make further gains in international competition?

[Answer] Creative man is indeed our most important reserve. And we could be managing this resource more efficiently, even without additional material inputs. By this I do not mean that, for example, we do not have to give the creative technical intellectuals better pay, although I would differentiate even here. We ought to give better pay not to the technical intellectuals in general, but to those among them whose performance is more and better. We have immense reserves in performance-oriented remuneration. We ought to take advantage of real and useful performances not only in second jobs, ancillary activity and the enterprise workers' business partnerships, but--for much higher pay--also in main jobs, during regular working hours.

We have outstanding business specialists, brilliant economists of international renown, and innovative engineers. And it is also indisputable that the skills and training of our workers are better by orders of magnitude than a decade or two ago. I do not regard as acceptable, for example, that in the 25 and over age group only one out of every 10 men and one out of every 17 women have diplomas. We may justifiably be dissatisfied with the fact that barely a fourth of our university and college graduates have technical training, and 36 percent have diplomas in education and culture.

We must take into consideration also that 83 out of every 100 university and college graduates are economically active, and 17 are retired. Furthermore, that the proportion of the retirees will increase sharply by the year 2000. Today we are utilizing only a small fraction of the retirees' potential. Another thought-provoking fact: according to the results of a survey conducted last year, 22 percent of the gainfully employed university and college graduates worked in fields other than the ones for which they had been trained, and 7.4 percent worked in fields that corresponded only partially to their training. Is this the best way to use individual talents and skills? Hardly. The uncovering of our reserves in this respect can not only produce economic results, but can also improve the job satisfaction of the workers concerned. This requires not only financial resources, but also better appreciation of one another's work. First of all, at the workplace a cheerful climate that is conducive to creative work.

Sources of Growth

[Question] The 1986 plan, and more broadly the 7th Five-Year Plan, anticipate a faster growth rate of industrial production and a certain revival of business activity. This obviously is an indication that our plans are better adapted to the requirements and changes of the world market. Where do you expect a pronounced rearrangement, and the successful mobilization of what reserves do you regard as possible?

[Answer] Under the 7th Five-Year Plan, and within it this year, we cannot expect spectacular growth. On the basis of our situation, it would not be realistic to do so. I expect a change after 1986. By this I mean that we will no longer need restrictive measures, parallel with maintaining our solvency, and with preserving overall and improving our standard of living. We will not have to curtail our investment and import, and instead we will find opportunities for growth specifically on the side of performances.

In the second half of the 7th Five-Year Plan, then, I expect an acceleration. And this dynamism will be a reliable foundation also of our plans that are likewise included in this program, namely to improve the standard of living, to encourage a higher birthrate, and to alleviate the situation of retired persons. The liberation of man's creative energies is able to accelerate the rate of development, the more so because the economic mechanism's continuous perfection is directed toward society's above-average rewarding of the enterprises' above-average performances. I believe that the practice evolving in this manner will aid the structural rearrangement that will be the source of further vigorous growth.

[Benedek] Thank you for the interview.

1014

CSO: 2500/148

UNION, LABOR RELATIONS NOTED

Worker-Candidate Supports Self-Management

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Prusowski, an optical glass grinder and polisher at the Polish Optical Plants and a candidate for deputy: "Self-Management Bodies Proving Themselves"]

[Text] No work force wants to stand on the sidelines and watch what others are doing. I am speaking of this because most of my social work has been activity in workers' councils, and later in the PZO [Polish Optical Plants] plant council. As a deputy in the 8th term, I also dealt with the affairs of worker self-management bodies.

It is not true that a worker at a machine, a metalworker or a milling machine operator is not interested in the results of his work and that of the entire work force. This fact is confirmed by everyday practice. And this is not a question of talking a lot, but of doing more than in the past. This is made possible, through participation in the joint management of the plant, by the law on worker self-management bodies that has been in effect for 4 years. I think that this was and is a great achievement for the world of labor in Poland.

During the meeting of representatives of self-management bodies last month at Transbuda in Warsaw, I became convinced that many of them are acting very energetically. And that is what matters in practice. Even in construction enterprises, which after all operate under difficult conditions, self-management bodies have obtained the recognition of the work forces, and they have managed to find a common language with the administration.

I, as a worker, would like to see the self-management bodies pass during the present period into the next phase of their action, i.e. dealing with economic problems at their plants in a more extensive and penetrating manner, since so far this course of action has not been given suitable priority everywhere.

In many cases it happens that the self-management units are still bantering with the administration about secondary matters, and overlooking the most important problems, such as the efficient utilization of production capacity,

economizing and producing import substitutes, raising the quality of products, or reducing production costs -- in short, how to achieve the maximum profit with the lowest production costs.

Practice has shown that over 90 percent of the self-management bodies are currently operating in a manner consistent with the content and spirit of the law. But there are also some that have remained... on paper, since in reality they do not do anything. Unfortunately, it is after all an old truth that those who are absent are wrong. I would like to have a general awareness that self-management bodies are and will be an integral part of our sociopolitical life, and above all an expression of the democratization of the forms of economic management that is taking place.

OPZZ, Farmers' Organizations Consult

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 4

[PAP article: "Consultations with Union Members and the Farmers' Organization"]

[Text] On 9 and 10 October, working meetings were held between the collective of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, and the collectives for socioeconomic plans of the OPZZ [Nationwide Agreement of Trade Unions] and the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations [KZRKiOR].

The subject was consultations on the draft CPR [Central Annual Plan] for 1986, as stipulated by the law on socioeconomic planning.

The members of the government collective called attention to the money-market situation, which will be formed in light of the planned increase in deliveries of goods and services to the market, and the planned policy for the formation of employment, wages, and monetary social services.

The members of the OPZZ collective called particular attention to issues associated with the planned policy for prices and emoluments and its consequences for the money-market equilibrium, the link between the level of emoluments and the labor productivity achieved, the mechanisms for the occurrence of inflation and its influence on wage relations, and the issues of employment and the general technical state of production capital.

During the meeting with the representatives of KZRKiOR, the most interest was expressed in the areas of the plan that determine the situation of villages and agriculture, and the progress in achieving food self-sufficiency.

Additional working meetings of the collectives are planned.

Changes in "Work-Free Days" Noted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 4

[PAP article: "Changes in Regulations on the Rules for the Adjustment of Working Hours"]

[Text] The Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs reports the following: In connection with the decision adopted by the Council of Ministers of 2 September 1985 on the subject of the rules for establishing additional dates for work-free days until the end of 1985, changes have been made in the regulations of the 8 October 1984 decree of the Council of Ministers on the subject of the adjustment of working hours in socialized work establishments, and changes in some regulations on working hours (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 51, item 263, and in 1985, No. 32, item 145).

In light of the changes made, the following rules are in effect for allocating additional work-free days in 1985:

1. In establishing the dates for additional work-free days within the framework of the total number of work-free days determined by the regulations and provided for in the schedules for working hours, the managers of work establishments are obligated to ensure full utilization of machinery and equipment, to take into account the requirements for continuous and multi-shift work, and to ensure the normal rhythm of production activity and the satisfaction of the needs of society.
2. In the schedules for working hours providing for 34 or 38 additional work-free days in the year, no additional free days are designated on the dates of 23, 27, 28, and 30 December 1985. In particularly exceptional cases, if justified by technical-economic considerations, work establishments can, however, allocate free days on the above-mentioned days of December. The management of the work establishments, before making a decision on this matter, should obtain prior approval from the founding body. A condition for the granting of such approval by the founding body is that the planned tasks be completed ahead of schedule, and that fulfillment of the plan at a level no lower than the previous year be ensured.
3. In schedules for working hours, the managers of the work establishments can, on the other hand, establish additional work-free days on the dates 2 November and 24 and 31 December 1985. In adopting a decision to this effect, they should take into account the degree to which the planned tasks have been completed, the requirements for full utilization of machinery and equipment, the demands of continuous and multi-shift work, and determining factors associated with ensuring a normal rhythm for production activity and satisfaction of the needs of society.

The full text of the changes in the above-mentioned decree of the Council of Ministers will be published in DZIENNIK USTAW No. 46

9909

CSO: 2600/73

ENGINEER RATES GROWTH PROSPECTS OF IRON-STEEL INDUSTRY

Katowice WIADOMOSCI HUTNICZE in Polish No 10, Oct 85 pp 239-242

[[Article by Prof Zbigniew Misiolok, Institute of Nonferrous Metals, Gliwice:
"The Polish Iron and Steel Industry and Its Development Prospects"*]

[Text] An assessment of the actual state of the domestic metallurgical industry requires an overall view of this branch of industry, which comprises the production of pig iron, steel, nonferrous metals, coking coal, refractories and metallurgical equipment. This industry is at the same time a raw materials base for many subsectors of the national economy, and above all for the machinebuilding, construction and railroad industries. In view of this, the current output of the metallurgical industry and its development prospects acquire the importance of a national problem.

It appears sensible to commence the assessment of the domestic iron and steel industry by considering its manpower aspects.

Public opinion nowadays attaches considerable blame to the metallurgical industry for the crisis condition of the national economy. It chiefly faults the industry's engineers who, as a result, have forfeited their former professional and social prestige. This also is reflected in the choice of study majors by youth. Recently enrollment in metallurgical schools, both higher and secondary, has been declining below its limits, and this situation harbors grave longterm consequences to the economy. Thus the problem facing the metallurgy departments of the nation's three concerned higher educational institutions is highly important.

A comparison of the world iron and steel industry with its domestic counterpart points unambiguously -- and unfortunately -- to our extremely low labor productivity, and hence also to overemployment. Thus, e.g., in recent

*Based on a paper presented by Drs. J. Folfasinski, A. Lesniak, S. Pawlowski and the present writer at the Congress of the Association of Metallurgical Industry Engineers and Technicians in April 1984.

years, even before our current national "crisis" had begun, labor productivity in the Japanese iron and steel industry was about 0.6 manhour per ton of

steel. Within the European Economic Community it averaged more than 0.8 manhour per ton, but in Poland it was more than 20 manhours per ton. The reason for this situation is not only the so-called "technology gap" (to put it simply, technological backwardness) but also low qualifications, poor discipline, organizational shortcomings, high turnover of labor force, etc. This appears to be one of the numerous symptoms of the current socioeconomic situation in our country.

A certain backwardness is exemplified by the extremely high metal-intensiveness of our economy, which in this respect occupies an inglorious second place among the significant industrialized countries. For the metallurgical industry as a whole, weak development of certain technologies can be pointed out.

As regards the iron and steel industry alone, an egregious example of this situation is the still limited use in this country of the converter and electric processes as well as of continuous steel casting, and also the neglect of infrastructure and the low share of the production of so-called "quality" steel products, particularly products made from corrosion-resistant steels.

As regards the nonferrous metals industry, the outdated technologies employed include: the current status of fluidized-bed treatment of zincblende, zinc electrolysis, incomplete utilization of semifinished products at copper plants, and especially incomplete recovery of lead, copper, silver and rhenium from semifinished lead products as well as the low recovery of metals from scrap and wastes. This technology gap is also observed in the refractories' industry, whose products are largely essential to the development of a quality iron and steel industry. There is a shortage of many modern heat-insulating materials, particularly those based on kaolin wool as well as on alumina wool, many kinds of fluxes, graphite-aluminum-silicate products and above all crucibles, products based on pure calcium oxide, high-grade clinker and dolomite products.

The decapitalization of fixed capital is nowadays often inaccurately interpreted as a consequence of the "crisis" and the economic reform. It would be more accurate to say that this trend had originated many years before the current crisis and that the ongoing economic reform is a consequence of the failure to undertake prior preventive repair and take the proper decisions in this respect.

The effect of the metallurgical industry on the natural environment is harmful, and in some cases it may be devastating. This problem, obvious as it is, has to be stressed because for a number of years so much has been said and written about it, yet all that discussion and the related decisions taken still has not culminated in effective measures based on the adopted programs of action. This issue must also be raised in order to stress its importance, to draw attention to not only its technical but also and above all its social aspects, in order to emphasize that environmental protection requires substantial financial outlays which the industrial plants with their current resources quite often cannot afford on their own. This is generally linked to shortcomings in the investment policy or rather to the practice followed so

far, which has been marked by, among other things, disregard of effects on man and on the natural environment. Since the consequences of an approach of this kind affect the entire society (e.g., the shutdown of production at the Skawina Iron and Steel Plant), their elimination must be assisted by the state, which, in particular, should facilitate the provision of the needed foreign exchange.

The raw materials base and power supply of the metallurgical industry are extremely uneven. The situation in this respect is at its best in the nonferrous metals industry, with the exception of aluminum, and in the coke industry. The refractories industry is not as well off, but the iron industry is in the worst position, since it has to import all iron and manganese ores and, practically speaking, all alloy additives. Power supply is, unfortunately, uncertain, except perhaps as regards power coal. The situation as regards the supplies and consumption of natural gas and fuel oil also appears unfavorable. If it is also considered that metallurgical processes are by their very nature extremely energy-intensive, it is evident that the largely outdated and even more largely energy-intensive Polish iron and steel industry confronts our power industry with extremely difficult tasks. All this underlines the urgent need to establish and rigorously fulfill a longrange and comprehensive program for reducing the energy-intensiveness of the iron and steel industry.

The current state of metallurgical facilities and the implementation of the currently discussed development program for the metallurgical industry are linked to the level of metallurgical sciences in this country. It can be stated on the whole that the present level of these sciences is satisfactory, and in certain fields of research it even surpasses the present state of technology in the Polish iron and steel industry, which is as should be expected.

Compared to the world level of metallurgical sciences, Poland occupies a leading position in such fields as, e.g., the theory of metallurgical processes, the dynamics of the operation of metallurgical machinery and equipment and selected domains of metals research. We are not too far behind in research into the metallurgy of fluid metals and plastic deformations of metals.

But the innovativeness of domestic projects has to be viewed with a critical eye. It may be that the easy, and often too easy, access to imports of machinery, equipment and technologies in the previous period has adversely affected the creative potential of both researchers and experts in the industry. At present the personnel of the industry's R&D and design centers face the extremely difficult task of reawakening that potential.

The metallurgical industry in Poland is experiencing a shortage of designers owing to, among other things, the fact that the ratio of technologists to designers among the graduates of university metallurgy departments is an inappropriate one.

As regards the problem of the training and advanced training of metallurgy, credit should be given to the postgraduate studies offered for many years by,

chiefly, the Mining and Metallurgy Academy in Krakow. Their curriculum has recently been steadily expanded in view of the industry's needs and particularly in connection with the growing specialization of metallurgical skills. Similar studies have recently also begun to be offered at the Metallurgy Department of the Silesian Polytechnic, and they will serve to upgrade the qualifications of metallurgical engineers.

In analyzing the role of science to the development of metallurgy, attention should be paid to one other problem. As known, in practice it is not possible to convert directly from scientific research to industrial-scale production in the absence of the intermediate link provided by --in most highly industrialized countries -- experimental or pilot plants and prototype machinery and equipment. This problem has not, in principle, been solved so far in Poland, as regards both funding and practical possibilities, and, although at present we are experiencing an economic crisis and a curtailment of imports, this is a fundamental problem in assuring the proper conditions for the development of metallurgical technologies.

A highly important issue to the iron and steel industry is that of equipment in general. This concerns both the design of metallurgical machinery and equipment and their construction and operation.

These problems are often considered in isolation although there exists an explicit feedback between them.. The quality and functionality of the design of a facility as well as the updateness of its solution, are largely determined by the method itself of its execution and by its subsequent utilization, which means, above all, complete information about design, construction and operation. Such problems have been and still are underestimated in the domestic metallurgical industry, and particularly in the metallurgical equipment industry. Hence, little attention is being attached to collecting information about the operation of unique specimens of metallurgical machinery.

Meeting the economy's needs for steel products should be considered in both their quantitative and varietal aspects.

It should be realized that during the period of emergence from the crisis radical changes in the economy's structure are not likely to occur soon. It is also difficult to expect that the steel-intensiveness of our economy will decline in the very near future, in view of its specific structure. For the official assumptions are that the steel-intensiveness of national income (in fixed 1977 prices) should decline to 9.7 kg per 1000 zlotys in 1990 from 11.7 kg per 1000 zlotys in 1980. If we are to consider the feasibility of this assumption, we perceive the related chances to exist chiefly in an economical consumption of steel. However, this depends not only on the metallurgical industry itself but, above all, on the users of metallurgical products. Here it should be pointed out that the problem of the proper use and consumption of steel arises already at the moment when metallurgical products are ordered.

A major factor in conserving steel is undoubtedly the manufacture of the fullest possible range of products meeting present-day requirements, that is, enhancing the durability of the finished product. This concerns all kinds of

products manufactured from corrosion-, wear- and cracking-resistant steels, the broad use of high-strength steels and heat-treated steel products and the application of negative camber in the processing of rolled and drawn products.

Also essential to steel conservation is the recovery problem. The application of continuous casting in lieu of the traditional rolling of billets in a slabbing mill should increase recovery by about 10 percent.

Unfortunately, in Poland at present only a few percent of the steel produced is cast by the continuous method, and no marked increase in that proportion is in the offing, although plans for it have been made at the Katowice Iron and Steel Plant.

A prerequisite for steel conservation is the diversity of the range of products manufactured and, of course, their proper quality. However, this prerequisite is not being met at present by the steel industry. The so-called "rationalization" or streamlining of production introduced in the past often reduced to eliminating the relatively unproductive, labor-intensive or unprofitable products, and the resulting product shortages were magnified by the demand of users for new varieties uncoordinated in advance with the steel industry.

Of course, Poland need not manufacture every product, but the shortages existing in this country are unacceptable. The most acute shortages pertain to all quality-steel products. Improvements in steel quality and purity are indispensable, but this postulate necessitates both the modernization of steelmaking departments, particularly as regards the treatment of liquid steel outside the furnace, and the construction of new plants for the electric treatment of steel. All this requires at the same time an expansion of the variety and improvements in the quality of refractories as well in the treatment of scrap, expansion of the production of ferroalloys and the activation of domestic production of high-intensity graphite electrodes.

Among the quality products mentioned in general, special stress should be placed on bearing-steel products and on increasing the quantity and improving the quality of corrosion-resistant steels. This problem cannot be solved through half-measures, because its solution requires substantial investment outlays. It should be emphasized that, even before the introduction of drastic foreign-exchange restrictions during the crisis period, the imports of metallurgical products manufactured from corrosion-resistant steels reached US\$100 million annually. As for automatic-steel products, cold-rolled strip and small-diameter pipe, these complement the list of the most acutely felt product shortages.

The shortages of these products curtail the production of equipment for the food-processing and agricultural industry as well as for transportation, construction, home furnishings, nuclear power industry, the production of medical and sanitation equipment, and many other products in wide use.

Against the background of such quantitatively large and costly product shortages, the current surpluses in the production of heavy shapes and plate point clearly to the improper orientation of the development of the iron and

steel industry so far. From this ensue the following program conclusions: Following World War II the iron and steel industry experienced an extremely rapid growth throughout the world. Steel output worldwide was 190 million tons in 1950, 336 million in 1960, and 719 million in 1980.

In 1981 was recorded a decline in steel output, a decline which continues to this day, but the beginnings of the worldwide crisis of the iron and steel industry are traceable to as far back as 1974. It is an interesting fact that while the iron and steel industry of the developed countries began to operate considerably below capacity, the developing countries expanded unusually rapidly their own steel production, reaching a level of 60 million tons annually in 1980 -- a level which in the next few years may even reach 100 million tons annually. Thus, anticipating the directions and rate of the development of the world iron and steel industry is in the present situation an extremely difficult problem; however, pessimistic views prevail.

The world economic situation in recent years has markedly affected the directions of metallurgical production. In the highly industrialized countries with a high potential for metallurgical production, the tendencies are toward a rapid modernization of operations and facilities in the direction of increasing profits, reducing energy consumption, cutting production cost, reducing the noxiousness of the industry to natural environment and increasing the useful value of products. Extensive conservation is practiced in utilizing secondary raw materials; in the capitalist countries scrap and wastes are treated to recover about 60 percent of their nickel, 70 percent of cobalt, 60 percent of tungsten and 30 percent of molybdenum. Greater attention is being paid to flexibility of production, which makes it possible to fulfill the small orders so reluctantly viewed by the iron and steel industry, considering that users are placing them more often than in the past.

In view of the high cost of energy, and particularly of crude petroleum, comprehensive conservation programs are being followed in a number of countries, with Japan leading in this field. This requires far-reaching modernization, the introduction of new technologies and the application of numerous cost-cutting substitute varieties; all this moreover requires substantial financial outlays.

In addition, a trend toward focusing efforts on the manufacture of difficult products is being observed; the manufacture of products from steels of ordinary quality will in the future be done chiefly in the countries with lower technology levels, particularly in Third World countries. The output of alloy steels has been rising at a faster rate than the overall output of steel, and the share of these steels in the developed countries at present exceeds 15 percent of their overall steel output.

High-strength steels are a group that is growing at a fast rate in the world steel industry. Progress in this respect has been achieved owing to, among other things, the application of microadditives such as niobium, vanadium and titanium. The output of corrosion-resistant steels is developing at a similarly rapid rate.

On examining in this context the development trends of our domestic steel industry, both its current status and strategic-political considerations have to be taken into account.

Allowing for the time factor, of course, as well as for the financial restrictions that are still anticipated to continue for some time, it appears pertinent and justified to propose the following main targets:

- assurance, to a maximum extent, of self-sufficiency in supplying steel-industry products as well as of a zero balance of value in this respect in trade with countries of II Payments Area [capitalist countries];
- elimination or drastic curtailment of imports of strategic products, particularly corrosion-resistant steel sheets, pipe, drawn products, strip, materials for the power industry, and products for the railroad industry;
- limiting to a minimum any increase in steel output, offset by the drafting and rigorous application of a program for improvements in product quality along with diversification of production; in this connection, steel output should correspond to the development directions of other branches of the economy, and chiefly of the machinebuilding and the metallurgical industries.

Considering the current status of the metallurgical industry and the expectation of continuing financial restrictions, it appears justified and expedient to adopt the following mandatory priorities:

- shutdown of departments with obsolete technological facilities that are not amenable to modernization, employ outdated technologies and manufacture products that do not meet present-day and anticipated requirements;
- modernization of the departments with suitable technical and siting conditions as well as with appropriate personnel and economic resources;
- construction of new investment projects, especially those needed to activate the production of new goods indispensable to the national economy;
- modernization of the currently manufactured range of finished products and concomitant improvements in their quality and utility;
- increase in recovery [from scrap and wastes];
- reduction in energy-intensiveness of production;
- reduction in noxiousness of the iron and steel industry, both at workplaces and to natural environment.

As for the nonferrous metals industry, despite its impressive growth rate in the previous periods, it has in principle been developing very nonuniformly. Properly speaking, only the industries dealing with the mining, metallurgy and processing of copper have been expanded comprehensively and in a well-coordinated manner.

The zinc and lead industry exists in a much worse situation; despite undoubted needs, its modernization has in the past been continually postponed owing to

funding shortages. In the very near future the modernization of, especially, zinc concentrating plants and sulfuric acid factories, will precondition both the maintenance of zinc output at its current level and the curtailment of the emission of atmospheric pollutants to the levels of the permissible norms.

An even more serious problem is that of converting zinc rolling mills, which operate on blanks obtained by the ingotless method. The currently operating obsolete rolls must be replaced with new ones, as otherwise the shapes produced will not be marketed owing to their low quality, and besides for several years now sheet exports have been declining. The possibilities for modernizing zinc metallurgy and processing are restricted by the shortfall in zinc output owing to the current system of metal prices and surcharges.

The development of the aluminum industry requires, owing to its high capital- and energy-intensiveness, subsidies from the central budget, because the burden of funding the 35-billion zloty investment in a new aluminum plant can be shouldered neither by the Konin Works nor even by the entire nonferrous metals industry. Hence ensues an urgent need to prepare appropriate technical-economic analyses that would objectively illuminate the consequences of the further stagnation in the development of the aluminum industry to the national economy.

In aluminum processing a fundamental problem is the expansion of foil mills and the modernization of sheet mills and die-stamping and drawing facilities so that imported blanks could be processed into products of the highest possible marketable quality, thus reducing the outlays made so far on their imports. The thus released foreign exchange should serve to increase the quantitative imports of metallurgical aluminum.

In development programs an absolute priority should be given to urgent investment projects relating to the utilization of scrap, semifinished products and metal-containing wastes. In this connection, the still occurring exports of nonferrous metal scrap run counter to efficient materials management, owing to the current shortage of domestic facilities for the further metallurgical reprocessing of that scrap. For projects of this kind neither funds, including the foreign-exchange ones, nor implementing resources should be spared.

For it is to be borne in mind that the cost of recovering 1 ton of metal from scrap and wastes is, in terms of the cost of related investments, only one-fifth to one-tenth as low as the cost of extracting that metal from ore by traditional techniques.

The availability of refractories in the needed quantity, variety and quality is essential to the development of domestic metallurgy. Actually, however, despite the decline in the overall steel output, there exist considerable shortages of many materials, even aluminosilicates, which have to be offset by importing them to the extent of about US\$27 million annually, irrespective of the traditional imports of magnesite in the amount of about US\$90 million annually. By increasing the output of high-grade dolomite products, especially the tarry products and those heat-treated, on the basis of the existing

extensive domestic raw material resources, we could markedly reduce these imports and moreover accomplish considerable technical and economic effects in metallurgy. For example, activating the production of modern heat-insulating materials would provide the conditions for modernizing the design of all kinds of heating furnaces and achieving significant conservation of heat energy.

Interesting the domestic metals industry in CaO-based refractories could provide the basis for developing their production and achieving suitable conditions for the deep desulfurizing of steel and thus also for greatly improving steel quality.

Another behest of the moment is the development and expansion of the production and application of the most energy-conserving refractories in the form of compacting and other concretes, i.e., monolithic linings; this also applies to the large-scale regeneration of the linings of metallurgical furnaces by the torcreting method. The current status of domestic metallurgy is justifiably disquieting to engineers and technicians working in the metals industry. They face the question of how can, given such a status of the industry and the concomitant shortages of investment resources, the metallurgical production so needed for the entire economy be developed and modernized? Taking into account all the aspects of this unfavorable situation, it appears that the only way out left is that of a technologically and economically optimal selection of directions of modernization, the determination of the order of priorities and the introduction of appropriate changes in the investing process.

1386

CSO: 2600/162

SFRY-ZIMBABWE PROGRAM FOR NONALIGNED ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 85 p 2

[Article by Simona Jankovic]

[Text] At the recent Conference on Cooperation Among Developing Nations in Harare, the joint program of Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, more exactly, of the Center for the Study of Relations with Developing Nations in Ljubljana and of the Development Institute of the Host Country, received support, so that for the Eighth Summit of the Nonaligned, probably in the fall of next year, all problems of mutual cooperation in the undeveloped part of the world will be worked out in a completely new manner: comprehensively, in detail, and separately for each sphere and type of cooperation.

This "project for cooperation" was also formulated so as to assemble other available scientific and research potential of both countries as well as of other developing nations. Talks are in progress aimed at including several institutes from those nations, such as the System for the Investigation of Information for Nonaligned and Other Developing Countries, based in New Delhi.

The idea for the project on concrete possibilities for mutual cooperation among developing countries actually stemmed from practice itself, says Dr Boris Cizelj, director of the Center for the Study of Relations with Developing Nations in Ljubljana. It is mainly leading diplomats, he explains, having little experience with and knowledge about all specific opportunities and ways for mutual economic cooperation, for example, among undeveloped nations, who participate in summit conferences among nonaligned countries. This means it was necessary to provide them with insights, therefore, to enable them to carry out preparations for the impending summit in a new manner. And this has been done. This time, namely, these preparations are beginning much earlier and are based on a broad survey of those directly involved in mutual cooperation, chiefly, the economies of undeveloped nations--from commerce, consulting, banking, transportation, through scientific institutes and joint research, to governing organizations that are responsible for coordinating and supporting "South-South" cooperation.

Expertise Guarantees the Result

"This will be the first time," emphasizes Cizelj, "that cooperation among developing nations is analyzed on the basis of practice and the view of the future by the actual participants in it, those who must carry out what is agreed on at the summit.

There will be extensive work on a series of sectoral studies (on commerce, financial cooperation, insurance...) which, together with the general analysis, make up this joint program. This is obviously an opportunity to contribute in the right way to an overall understanding of cooperation up to now and to the possibilities for mutual cooperation among undeveloped countries in the future. In other words, there is the opportunity to offer solutions that will not be deductive and will not suffer from superficiality; because, if financial experts make assessments on current cooperation in banking and recommendations for its further development, then the probability for improvisation instead of operative solutions is reduced to a minimum."

"Here in Yugoslavia," the Director of the Ljubljana Center points out, "we already established in September a Program Council with Mirko Ostojic, president of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, at its head. The inclusion in an appropriate manner of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Yugoslav Bank for International Cooperation, the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, and a few institutes in this large undertaking is also expected. The intention is to mobilize to the maximum extent all available forces in the country--experts from science and outside it, capable of seeing this great task through to completion." The result cannot be at risk, Dr Cizelj is convinced, because the choice of cooperation and the means of implementing the program will be subordinated to it.

The concept of a questionnaire has just been worked out. Testing is in progress. A definitive version is expected in December which will be sent to insufficiently developed countries for a survey.

A large task, without a doubt, according to Cizelj, and efforts are being made to complete all the major sectoral studies, and of course the general study, by the beginning of the Eighth Summit of the Nonaligned. Their verification should take place at an international assembly, most probably in June, but it has not yet been decided where it will take place.

Support in the United Nations is Also Expected

Returning from the recent Conference on Cooperation Among Developing Nations, Dr Boris Cizelj had the opportunity to visit the headquarters of the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] in Rome and to reach a definite agreement on possible cooperation on the project--support and financial participation of appropriate organizations within the UN system, such as UNDP, UNCTAD, and UNIDO.

In order for all the work on the sector studies to be open to the greatest extent possible to the direct participants in the cooperation among developing nations, it is foreseen that a specific area will be reserved in the studies for special business and other messages to partners in the markets of this area. This will be a good way to point out one's own possibilities and interest in specific markets of developing countries, but also to have the partners inform each other of their own needs as well.

The likelihood is evident that this time, i.e., in the course of preparations for the Summit in Harare in 1986, a break will be made with the practice up to now, which has not yielded results appropriate to the possibilities of the overall resources of nonaligned and other developing countries. At issue is the fact that documents, above all, on economic relations, were mainly general at previous conferences of the nonaligned, with emphasis on the need for expanding mutual cooperation among developing countries, and on the commitment to support it and give it political priority. Mechanisms that would make possible the achieving of these aspirations of the nonaligned were seldom, if at all, proposed. Since the new project offers precisely this, the widespread approval that it recently met with among representatives of developing countries is not surprising.

13156/12795
CSO: 2800/78

LACK OF WILL TO ACHIEVE CHANGES IN ECONOMY NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Dusan Sekulic: "Even if You Want to, You Can't"]

[Text] Soon we will be saying farewell to yet another lean cow, but it is being followed by a yet leaner one: the year 1986 does not promise us anything very good either. The superstitious can at least hope that the coming year will be the last one, the 7th, since the period of 7 lean years began in 1979. Realists, however, know that legends are nothing but legends.

The high point of the period of relative Yugoslav material prosperity came toward the end of 1979. How far away and unreal that time already seems when the dollar was worth 19 dinars! According to an analysis of the Institute for Market Research (ZIT) in Belgrade, in October 1979 the average real personal income of the employed Yugoslav was the highest in history: 6,710 dinars. This was worth about \$350 American. That year, which we patched up with a record loan of \$3.661 billion, the prevailing view was that the present prosperity was false, that it could not last, since the bill at the end would be catastrophic. That was when it began, and later it continued with the Anti-Inflation Program, that has already been forgotten, and then the stormy preparation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

That program has been fully in force for more than 2 years now, and its first phase was supposed to be completed. If we draw the line, we get the following results. The average real personal income of the employed Yugoslav in August 1985 (the last reliable figure) amounted to 41,431 dinars. In the ZIT they have used the tried and true methods to calculate that the "pay" in October 1979, that record one, was all of 57 percent more than the one in August of this year in real terms. By applying the same criteria they found that today the average monthly income ought to be about 60,000 dinars to measure up to that one from 6 years ago. To be sure, the specialists reject a comparison using the dollar, but why shouldn't we do that as well? Today it would take more than 100,000 dinars to buy the number of dollars that could have been bought with the average monthly income in October 1979. In the meantime the cost of living has risen 87.9 percent, and there has been an embittered struggle to get through each day. The traditional "market basket" of essential needs of the average four-member family now costs nearly 110,000 dinars a month, all of 50,000 more than the average earnings.

Indicators of Economic Activity, Index Numbers

<u>Factors</u>	<u>1984</u> <u>1979</u>	<u>1985</u> <u>1984</u> <u>(Estimate)</u>	<u>1985</u> <u>1979</u>	<u>Annual</u> <u>Growth</u> <u>Rate, %</u>
Social product, in constant prices (real terms)	105	99	104	0.7
Physical volume of output				
Industry	116	102	118	2.8
Agriculture	110	88	97	-0.4
Construction	66	94	62	-7.6
Physical volume of retail sales	90	94	85	-2.7
Size of the labor force	113	102	115	2.4
Labor productivity	93	97	90	-1.7
Real personal incomes per employee	72	98	70	-5.8
Final use of the social product				
Personal consumption	89	95	85	-2.7
Gross investments in fixed capital	65	95	62	-7.7
Producer prices in industry	476	182	867	43.4
Wholesale prices	541	177	958	45.8

Source: INDEKS, several issues, published by the Federal Bureau of Statistics (estimates of the ZIT for 1985).

Experts and politicians like different comparisons. Here they are. The Long-Range Program called for the social product to grow at an annual rate between 4 and 5 percent. Since 1979 and up until the present time that annual rate has been only 0.7 percent. The physical volume of output over the same period has grown at an annual rate of only 2.8 percent, and in agriculture there has been an annual rate of decline of 0.4 percent. That decline in construction has been drastic: an annual average of 7.6 percent. And that means one-third less housing, highways, and public facilities than there would have been if in 1979 we had not begun to go backward.

Personal consumption is dropping at a rate of 2.7 percent, and labor productivity at an annual rate of 1.7 percent. Only inflation is advancing in a crash effort; the average annual rate is about 45 percent, and during this year alone it has announced a rate that is twice as high as the average annual increase over the period of the six lean cows.

This year agricultural production is off 12 percent from last year, exports in the first 10 months are up 5 percent instead of 12 percent, and exports to the convertible area are up 2 percent instead of the planned 15 percent. Inventories of finished goods in industry are 29 percent larger in the January-August period of this year than in 1982.

The only thing that has improved is the balance of payments with foreign countries and employment, which has increased a total of 15 percent in 6 years. But there is some question how good that is, since we are getting less foreign exchange from exports than earlier, and hiring has led to a drop in

productivity--and yet there are still a million people unemployed and the trend is upward.

Going on in the Same Old Way

"It is our specialty that what ought otherwise to be constructive often yields the opposite result," says Petrasin Petrasinovic, ZIT director. "In the world at large they use five criteria for measuring the efficiency of an economy and a projection of the near future. They are the net result in the balance of payments, the ratio of the national currency to other currencies, the share of the budget in the social product, the rate of unemployment and the rate of new job creation, and the interest rate. If, for example, the value of the national currency is dropping, that presupposes a large growth of exports. Why has this not been the case with us? If the share of the budget in the social product increases, that means public works, or armament, it makes no difference, but it signifies higher employment. Nor did that happen in our case. In a period of increased hiring in our country, there has been a drop in production and productivity. A higher rate of interest ought to drive down inflation, but in our case it increased."

At this point we can pretend to be as surprised as we like, it is a fact that even without these figures we all knew that something was topsy-turvy in our country. That is in fact why the decision was made to change things, but the years are passing, and everything is going on in the same old way except that we are poorer and poorer. Why? "Those who want changes have no power, those who have the power, do not want changes," says Silvano Bolcic, professor in the School of Philosophy of Belgrade University.

Professor Bolcic, incidentally, was among the authors of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. "The creators of the Long-Range Program proceeded on the premise that the balance of political power would change in the first phase of carrying out the program, after several laws embodying the system and instituting economic laws were adopted. It is now evident that we obviously first need to change the balance of power. The program itself was in large degree the result of compromises, and that is why it is no wonder at all that the approach has frequently been through compromises in carrying it out.

Authentic democratization of the political system is the only real way out, Professor Bolcic believes.

Nor did the most persistent advocates of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program hide their disappointment any longer, as they become aware of the extent to which the compromises that resulted from reconciling the interests of local power centers have not only handicapped that program in its implementation, but are jeopardizing even its total value. "I still have not sufficiently investigated the entire matter in that way, I do not believe in the ideas which are sent by Providence, but I am unavoidably beginning to lean toward the opinion that in this kind of system it would not have helped us to strictly abide by the provisions of the program," we were told by a reputable economist.

At the same time the Center for Study of Market Conditions has made the following forecasts under the title "Trends at the Transition Into the Year 1986":

"The present economic developments and forecasts of the OUR's in the economy which were surveyed in October indicate that they will enter 1986 with the following tendencies: large disturbances in the process of social reproduction..., stagnation and indeed even a slight drop in the gross social product..., a slowing down of the rate of industrial production..., a large drop in agricultural production..., declining motivation to augment exports..., a slower rate of contracts for construction work on capital investment projects abroad..., greatly diminished purchasing power of the population and the funds of the economy..., a decline in real personal income..., a rise in nonproductive hiring and a drop in productivity, a marked lag in technical and technological development behind the advanced world..., a further rise of prices," and so on.

All of this is already beginning to look like a worn-out and overloaded row-boat in which the passengers see the current carrying them toward a waterfall, but in battling one another for the best seat and carried away singing a revolutionary anthem, they do not even see that the helmsman is asleep.

7045

CSO: 2800/131

OOUR'S, DISINTEGRATED ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 85 pp 22-23

[Article by Milan R. Kovacevic: "From the OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] to the SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor]: Organizations Against the Market"]

[Text] There are few if any who would not agree with the assessment that the present Yugoslav economy is fragmented, broken up into parcels, splintered, regionalized, and even feudalized (as some with a rich current political vocabulary refer to all this). However, as soon as it has to be stated precisely what it is supposed to mean when one says a disintegrated economy, and we are not even talking about indicating the causes of that phenomenon, the opinions begin to differ abundantly.

The simplest are those theories which simply see too many organizations. Closely related to that is the conception that the basic organizations have become too independent, and therefore it would be good to simply reduce their number. There are many among the advocates of this approach who have been especially vigorous in creating as many basic organizations as possible in the not so distant past. Incidentally, it is actually a question of the same approach in both cases here. At one point they thought up a measure of decentralization in the economy, they put it on the law books, and it had to be carried out. In the other time that we are in today, they recognize the tendency toward the increasing size of organizations, so that they are immediately able to take the measurements and strive to carry out what is being sought.

Before any serious analysis had been made, a process of transforming complex organizations into work organizations had already started in practice, and all of the latter were reorganized so as to diminish the number of basic organizations associated together within them. Only by the way has one been able to hear in some places a doubt as to whether the organizational forms in the economy are themselves appropriate.

However, it seems that actually we should seriously put the question of whether the real problem is that we have too many basic organizations and that too small a portion of them is organized in the more complex forms of organization? Or on the other hand does the problem lie in the inappropriate concept of organization in general? Let us remember that today in the economic and

legal sense the only complete economic entity is the basic organization and the work organization which does not have constituent basic organizations. They have their own resources and they carry on their business with those resources. The work organization which has constituent basic organizations and the complex organization are only associations that conform to a certain pattern and they do not make the organization larger, but they remain forms of association subject to the changeable will of the members of the association.

The Larger, the Weaker

The basic organization and the work organization that does not have constituent basic organizations and also certain forms of work communities have their own resources and realize income from their activity. It is only for them that the result of business operation is established. Work organizations and complex organizations do not have their own income statements, nor do they actively engage in business operation or possess assets. Their rights, then, derive from the rights granted them by the basic organizations. That makes it clear that the work organization which has constituent basic organizations cannot logically have the same rights as the work organization which does not have constituent basic organizations. The complex organization is in a position to have still fewer rights and powers as a step further in some sort of integration. This is a logical consequence of the fact that only certain of its powers can be turned over to this kind of association. The complex organization can have those powers granted it by the consolidated work organization, and the latter can in turn grant only a part of what it has received from the basic organizations brought together within them.

So, our system of association of organizations has one basic weakness, which lies in the fact that with each further step of integration that integration becomes essentially weaker and weaker, the larger it is. In addition, no form of organization is lasting, but is subject to reaffirmation.

In opting for this kind of organization of the enterprise, we truly did choose "some third thing." In the context of private ownership complex forms of organization arise through coownership ties. Holding companies and other forms of parent organizations have entire bunches of enterprises in their limited or complete ownership. Those authorities most important to strategy are reserved at the top of such an integration. What is more, what is achieved with the joint ownership is that the same entity may fall under several strategies, since there are several organizations within the mixed coownership. Ultimately at the top of that integrated pyramid decisions are made on buying and selling the parts of the grouping, whereby integrated ties are achieved if necessary and permanent. Of course, in practice the parts of the grouping are left considerable powers so as to stimulate their motivation for successful business performance, but still the decisions essential to the entire integration are left to be made at the center, at the top. So, this kind of organization makes it possible in practice to find the optimum solution.

On the other hand, in the context of command planning at the top of the branch of the economy, the leadership has the strategic functions of management. Powers necessary to the function of the system are relinquished beneath it

according to the established hierarchy. At the lowest level of the hierarchy the decisionmaking powers are mostly operational. To be sure, we have been witnesses to changes in this kind of system in many countries. Gradually there is a redistribution of authority and responsibility taking place in the sense that they are being decentralized. But there still remains a concept similar to the one in private ownership that the strategic decisions and responsibility for strategy be left at the top and that the powers and responsibilities essential to the operational part of the system be left to it.

The basic difference in practice between the private form of organization and that of command planning is especially felt in connection with organizing new parts and the dying out of bad ones. In the planned system, standardized as it is, that is a normativistic process, while in the system of private ownership it takes place as it does with the life of the organism. New entities are born in different forms, and those which have not confirmed themselves in practice as successful fall by the wayside.

Flexibility and Permanence

Is our system of organization good even though it is some third breed? Can every activity be crammed into the same rigid scheme? In our system do we have the successful birth of new entities and the dying out of those which are unsuccessful? Does our form of integration truly integrate? A reliable answer has yet to be given to these questions. Nevertheless, we can suspect that we also need to change the system of organization instead of merely insisting on moving things about within it. But it seems that the dilemma over whether the status of being the enterprise, which is today the basic organization, ought not to be given to the work organization is not the real dilemma. It seems the problem is how to create a more flexible situation in which every portion of economic activity (we will not even talk about noneconomic activities since they are special) will find a solution for its own organization. Likewise the organization demands permanence, not always leaving open the possibility that it could disintegrate if the parts so decide.

Whether the basic organization continues to have the role of the enterprise, or whether the work organization is made the enterprise, the number of enterprises changes, but that does not eliminate the problem. The same applies still more to the number of basic organizations and work organizations. Here quantity cannot yield a new quality. Nor will this bring greater independence on the part of economic entities, nor will they have a greater awareness of the need for integration. There will only be fewer entities, which is perhaps of interest to those who wish to continue to be concerned about them.

Today's enterprise is with its local purchases and sales augmenting the budget of its own "region," with the taxes on salaries it is creating "blessings" for government and social service expenditure in its immediate environment, and through "its" bank it stops flows of money and capital; not only is it not independent, it does not even need independence. The socialization of its failure is more attractive than that kind of independence. But independence is the only sound basis for integration. Entities which are not independent have already been wrongly integrated. If we add to this the partitioning of the

employment relation between those who are employed and those who would like to work, and the general lack of mobility of both people and ideas, only then do we get a real picture of the state of disintegration in the economy.

In fact the problem of the economy's inefficiency is the "only" one in this kind of "idyll" which has been consciously created. It is not noticed that those who brought this about have been even less successful. This is also concealed by the "appeal for action" to integrate the economy, which means entering into association to form work organizations and complex organizations. In practice formal changes occur quite frequently as a logical consequence of the present situation. Complex organizations either fall apart or become work organizations, and the number of basic organizations simply decreases. Once again, then, it is the form which changes, but the essence remains the same.

Strengthening Monopolies

Aside from organizational integration, great hope has also been placed on the investment of resources. However, a major portion of the resources available for that have gone into investments prescribed by law and which thereby could not have contributed to that objective. In addition, the system of conditions for joint ventures has been prescribed in such a way as to afford maximum protection to the organization in which the investment is being made, so that it was not possible to give sufficient motivation to those who are supposed to invest.

In the imprecise language of politics, integration is stretched all the way to cover ordinary purchases and sales. It was not altogether an accident that this should have taken place. As we know, those in raw materials have themselves been trying to take over manufacturing, the republics have given their blessings to refineries for their own consumption, those in the textile industry have made investments in order to "round out the cycle" from the fiber to the article of clothing, in the metal industry they have set up their own foundries, the republics and provinces have their own banks, and so on. Thus alongside regional disintegration, there has also been entrepreneurial autarky. That is why it seems that both should be treated with integration. That is why collaboration is urged even for those enterprises who have almost forgotten that you can cross our borders without paying duty.

However, the autarkic behavior of the enterprise is a logical consequence of its lack of independence and of its being subordinated to local interests, along with the absence of a mechanism for broader trade. Until the fifties this mechanism was the mandatory plan, but it was abandoned even in those technologically ramified activities which are planned by the government in all modern economies. Since that time we have been in favor of the market in our declarations, but in practice we have been destroying it with our regulations and by our behavior. Yet we know that the market is the only possible universal economic method of integration that remains. All needs and possibilities universally come together on the market. The integration of enterprises, by expanding the space for internal transactions, reduces the space for the operation of the market. That is why an excessive organizational integration leads toward a strengthening of monopolies as the general illness that is destroying the market.

Since 1974 the market has not gone further than declarations, since conclusion of accords and compacts which have systematically displaced it has been promoted. Out of that the consensus economy grew up with all its negative consequences. The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program affirmed the importance of the market, but once again that stands as a declaration which has little impact on reality.

The most recent statements in favor of organizational integrations fitted into the old schemes of organization can only be a new way of advocating one thing and doing another, just as we have done in the past. The "only" problem will remain of how long we will be able to take the ineffectiveness of our improvisations.

7045

CSO: 2800/139

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER CROSSING EQUIPMENT REVIEWED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1985 (signed to press 9 Sep 85)
pp 319-321

[Article by Col R. Zimmer, engineer: "On Developing Military Bridge Building With Ships in the NVA"]

[Text] The ship is mankind's oldest means of transport. From the beginning up to the present day it has undergone diverse stages of development. In all of them this transport means was also used for military tasks; thus, for combat tasks, for transport and to build bridges and ferries.

Today ships find wide use especially for bridge building, even if the armed forces are equipped with the appropriate crossing equipment because military activities require comprehensive crossing equipment which is not always available to the necessary extent.

The use of ships makes it possible to better accommodate the requirements which are posed by crossing water obstacles. Of course, ships can only be used on navigable waterways and along the coast. The navigable waterways, however, are predominantly the largest water obstacles and in respect to crossing the most complicated.

Whereas water obstacles in the battlefield are normally taken care of by the engineers with appropriate equipment, the units in the military transport system utilize in addition to structural means ships at operational depths to cross water obstacles. In this, ships are used to build bridges and ferries to guarantee transport by road, railroad and sea. For the most part they are used to build road bridges, railroad bridges and sea bridges.

The better the ships are prepared for building bridges and ferries, the more effectively they can be used for military tasks. We distinguish boats, barges and flush deck barges according to the technical shape of the ships which are considered for military bridge and ferry building.

1. Boats

In the 1960's tugs were the definitive transport means on the GDR's waterways. Transport tasks which developed were met with the boat, open or covered, normally with a permanent crew of two or three.

The boats could be encountered in large numbers on the waterways. Their historical development, nevertheless, resulted in varied dimensions which came into being because of the particular waterway conditions--particularly the conditions in the locks (see Table 1).

Table 1. Boat Classification

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Capacity tons</u>	<u>Length m</u>	<u>Width m</u>	<u>Output kW</u>
Elbe-gauge boat	1,000	80.0	9.2	--
Plauer-gauge boat	750	67.0	8.2	--
Oder-gauge boat	550	55.0	8.0	--
Saale-gauge boat	450	52.0	6.4	--
Finow-gauge boat	270	41.5	5.1	--
Towboat	--	8.0	4.0	up to 150
Tug	--	15.0	6.0	up to 330

For military use the open boats of Plauer and Oder river size were the most suitable. Their dimensions and technical shaping matched the requirements for bridge building. A complicating factor in bridge building was the diversity of the individual boats in respect to technical shaping. For every bridge, therefore, an independent design had to be developed which took into consideration the boats which were to be used in particular situations. As a result the first road, railroad and sea bridges were built at substantial cost in terms of personnel, materials and time. The boats were expanded in the "carpenter's manner" with wood and other materials, individually floated into the bridge line and then covered.

The cost in terms of wood to expand the boats amounted, for example, to 1 to 1.5 m³ per running meter of single-track bridge for a road bridge, for a railroad bridge 8 to 10.0 m³ per boat for a support, for a sea bridge 0.2 to 0.3 m³ per m² of usable surface for moorings.

The great cost becomes even clearer if we remember that about 3 to 4 trees must be cut and processed for 1 m³ of wood. But that was the successful beginning for us. With the existing boats we built bridges across navigable waterways which can be used by military equipment.

Later structures were put into use which shaped bridge building with ships more efficiently, but in particular saved wood. The boats could now be expanded with prefabricated steel structures and be covered with concrete roadway panels.

The disadvantage was that the section carriers were supported in a hinged fashion on the support structures which were placed outside. Thus when being traversed substantial listing of the boats occurred which had a negative impact on the possible speed of movement on the bridge.

The building of ship bridges using boats was made easier whenever the crews were present. They executed the work which had to be done in respect to ship

technology in a masterful and reliable manner. Anchors, winches and poles were the most effective aids in this.

2. Barges

In the 1970's barges and pushboats came into use on the GDR's waterways. The tug--the boat--no longer met the requirements. Technically the boats were becoming obsolete, the cost of permanent crews and the cost in terms of time for ship and transshipping operation was too great. The use of pushboats and barges made possible a kind of "railroad technology" on the waterways. The barges have no crews (like a freight car) and can be transported by the pushboats (as by a locomotive). This improved the rotation of transport means, manpower could be substantially reduced and the transport capacity substantially increased.

This development was of considerable importance for military bridge building with ships. The whole fleet was modernized. Open barges were produced in large numbers having the same dimensions and the pushboats which were required for pushing had high-level performance and maneuverability. Thus, the means which had to be used efficiently were available for building bridges and ferries.

A special design was created to expand the barges: ship bridge building equipment 66 (SBG 66). Basically it consists of four structural elements: ship supports I and II and the section carriers A and B (Figure 3).

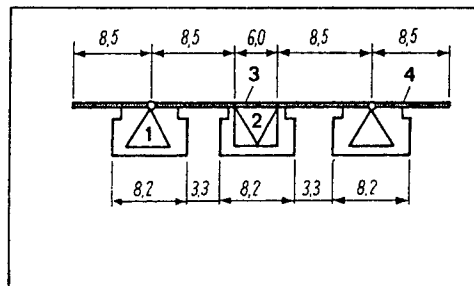


Figure 3. Construction Elements of the Ship Bridge Building Equipment 66 (dimensions in meters)

1--Ship support I; 2--Ship support II; 3--Section carrier B;
4--Section carrier A

The section carriers are mounted on ship support I in a flexible way and rigidly on ship support II. This prevents listing of the barges and makes possible high speed of movement on the bridges. This system provides expansion of "ferries with an extension" and "ferries without an extension" (Figure 4).

Expanding the barges can be done in a decentralized manner in station operation along the protected shore. The rate of expansion is substantially increased by premounting the structural elements. Thus, the ship supports

in the block can be set into the barge and the section carriers can be covered as a group. Both cranes and helicopters can be used to do this. After building the ferry in the river these are floated into the bridge line with pushboats. Rapid closing and opening of the bridge line is possible through the building of ferries.

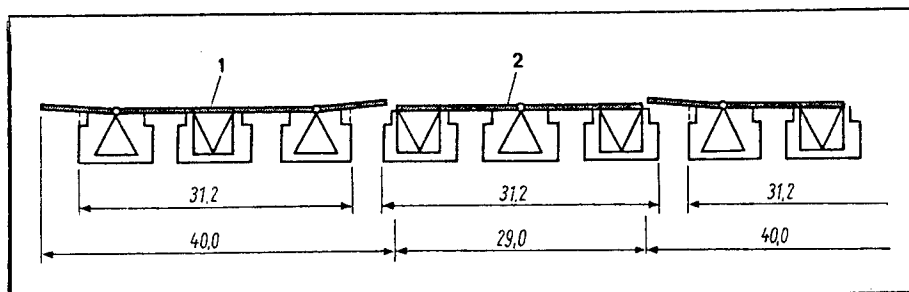


Figure 4. Ferry Construction With Help of Barges (dimensions in meters)
1--Ferry with extension; the section carriers A are raised in and out hydraulically; 2--Ferry without extension

The bridge equipment can be used with two tracks by wheeled and tracked vehicles (Figure 5) and with one track by the railroad. The tracks which are necessary for the railroad are lowered into the section carriers which are designed as boxes. Thus, they do not have a negative impact on the movement of road vehicles. In this way the bridge can be used both as a railroad bridge and a road bridge.

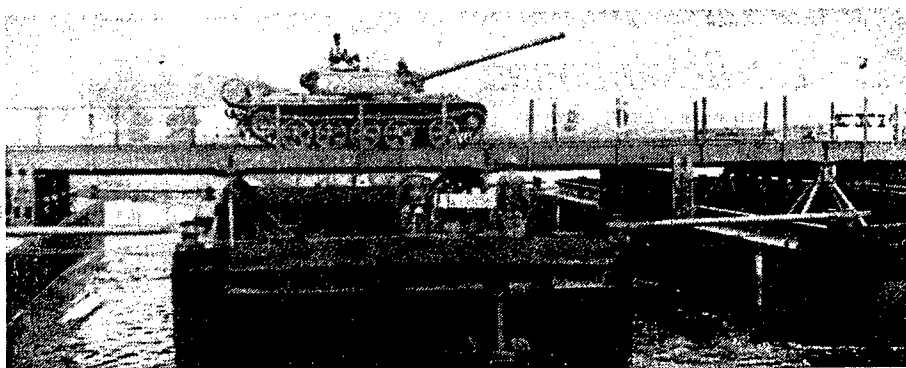


Figure 5. Barge With SBG 66 as a Road Bridge

In order to compensate for the water level vertically adjustable supports are used on the shore which make it possible to cross the bridge under all hydrological conditions.

Table 2. Barge Classification

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Capacity tons</u>	<u>Length m</u>	<u>Width m</u>	<u>Output kW</u>
Barge	420	32.0	8.2	--
Pushship	--	23.0	8.2	440
Pushboat	--	16.0	8.15	220

3. Flush Deck Barges

The use of barges for bridge and ferry building raised the question whether there is an alternative to the necessary expansion of the barges, whether it is possible to shape ships structurally in such a way that in like manner they fully accommodate the civilian and military requirements, thus whether military use is possible without large retrofitting costs.

The flush deck provided the answer. With this the load is no longer transported in the ship, but rather on the ship. These flush deck barges created completely new, previously unknown structures on the GDR's waterways.

Table 3. Flush Deck Barge Classification

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Capacity tons</u>	<u>Length m</u>	<u>Width m</u>
Flush Deck Barge 54	1,000	54.0	11.0
Flush Deck Barge 65	824	65.0	9.5
Ferry Barge	240	36.0	9.5

The flush deck barges no longer require expansion. The deck is shaped so that it meets all requirements of road, railroad and sea bridge construction. (Footnote 1) (R. Zimmer: "Flush Deck Barges and Their Use in Military Ferry and Bridge Building," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 2, 1980, p 76) For operation only some superstructures must be removed and ramps for driving on and off must be mounted. In a short time the flush deck barges can be joined and floated into or out of the bridge line using pushboats. With this high level of maneuverability on the water substantial consideration is given to the conditions of military bridge building.

The development of military bridge building with ships in the NVA reveals continuity and consistency (Table 4). In close cooperation between specialists in the NVA's military transport system and the GDR's civilian transport system the necessary development projects were introduced and realized. With the further improvement of flush deck barges, the primary issues will be steadiness, leak control and camouflage. The combination of ship and pontoon bridges is being tested. It offers the technical prerequisites for crossing water obstacles if the foreshore is inundated.

In the education and training of the members of the NVA's military transport system the focus is on making this development understandable and utilizing it as a driving force to increase combat capability and readiness.

Table 4. Development of Bridge Building With Ships

<u>Period</u>	<u>Ship Type</u>	<u>Forces</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Trafficability</u>
1950's	Tugboat	Regiment	Week	Wood	Single-track, 15 km/h
1960's	Tugboat	Battalion	Days	Steel girders, concrete panels	Two-track, 25 km/h
1970's	Pushboat	Company	Hours	Steel elements	Two-track, 40 km/h
1980's	Flush deck barge	Platoon	Minutes	Flush deck	Two-track, 50 km/h

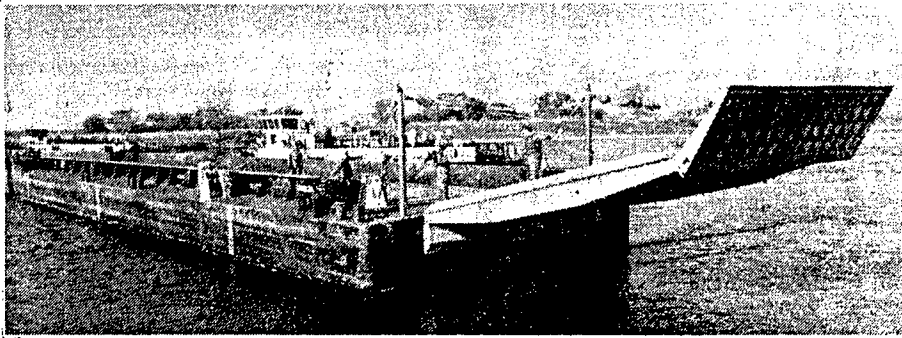


Figure 6. Flush Deck Barge GSP 54 as a Road Bridge

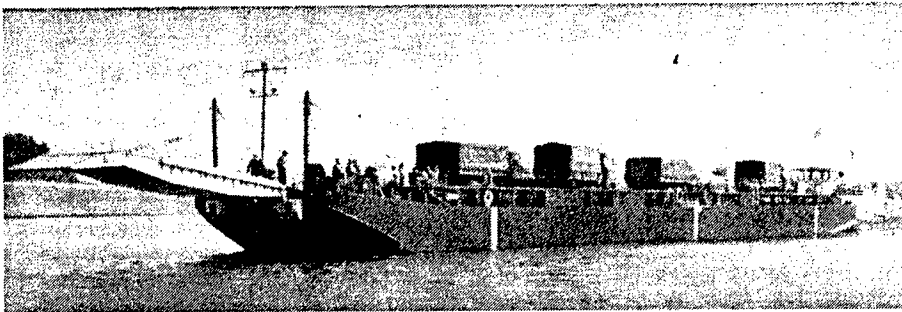


Figure 7. Flush Deck Barge GSP 65 as a Ferry

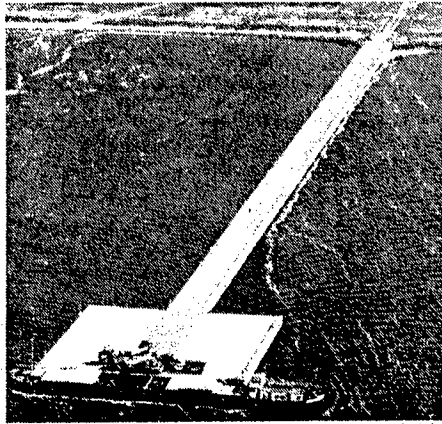


Figure 8. Flush Deck Barge FP 36 as a Sea Bridge

12124/6091
CSO: 2300/89

PROBLEMS OF SOLDIERS INTERESTED IN MILITARY CAREERS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Dec 85 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Dezso Bistyak, a unit commander, by Istvan Illes:
"Beginners in the Military"]

[Text] It has been said at a number of forums including the fall constituent session of the defense committee of the National Assembly that there is a problem with officer and noncommissioned officer replacements for the Hungarian People's Army. Their obligations are great, their income is not in proportion to this, and the social prestige of the vocation is declining greatly, many say. According to the reports the problems mentioned can be found with every stratum of the professional military, but they appear especially sharply with young men beginning their careers. Going beyond the expectation of social aid what are they doing among the troops to resolve these tensions and make a military career more attractive? Our colleague visited a Great Plains unit where about 70 percent of the professional soldiers are under 30 years of age, their average age is 27 years. He talked with Colonel Dezso Bistyak, the unit commander, about the situation of the young officers and noncommissioned officers.

[Question] For years more graduating officers than you can take have requested assignment here. What attracts them?

[Answer] We have no secret. Here also one must work, and the income here is no higher than elsewhere either.

Nor are those beginning their careers all outstanding men. But their common characteristic is that they would like to find their place on the job and in life. When a young person comes here he should keep that in mind. The reception, showing the possibilities, having them get to know the job are extraordinarily important. Their preparation lasts one month instead of the prescribed 2 weeks, then they can see to their tasks--with far-reaching help.

[Question] Still, what is it that is tempting here?

[Answer] However odd it may be in such a hierarchic organization the work here is not done only on orders. The young ones must be taught right face and left face, and to carry out complicated military tasks. One can demand something

only if he has created the conditions for it. One cannot work well or happily under duress.

[Question] This sounds very well, but the absorbing obligations remain....

[Answer] True, in some assignments very many tasks fall on the graduates. We have subunits where the young officer is working in the place of three or four missing colleagues. Still, I say that this problem is exaggerated throughout the army. Naturally it would be easier if we had more, but this contradiction can--and must--be solved with better, more careful organizing work. For example, we can solve many tasks with purposeful preparation of draftees suitable for this. It is important that we trust one another and believe--until the contrary is shown to be true--that everyone serves our goals according to his best ability and will do so voluntarily.

[Question] And what happens if he does not?

[Answer] In the past 5 years no professional soldier was discharged from the unit at his own request.

[Question] Beautiful, an awareness of mission is beautiful, but still one must live from something....

[Answer] I too buy on the market, and the soldiers should know this too. But they should also know that I am grasping every cent for them, because they do not have any sort of second occupation or side job--and cannot have according to the regulations.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Carrying out military tasks always requires a rested, full value person. The alarm bell could ring at any time....

[Question] In civilian life there is much talk about paying wages differentiated according to work. Could this principle be applied in the unit?

[Answer] I might say that only this should be applied everywhere. In many places the evaluation or wage payment is based on rivalry or on making connections. There is no question here of who is better than whom. We measure everyone by himself. The execution of the given task is the basis for evaluation--I am unbendable in this. And the evaluation of performance is open.

[Question] In his dreams a professional soldier wears the uniform of a general. What real possibility do the young men have of promotion?

[Answer] When selecting cadres also we take into consideration the work done. We tell everyone personally what assignment we have chosen him for, we talk about it openly at the appropriate forums, so no one can be surprised. It depends only on the young person, whether he is willing to work for it. Most often we are not disappointed. In the past 5 years 40 percent of our officers have gone to a higher assignment or to the academy, sometimes to the Soviet

Union. We raise all the leaders from among our own, we do not ask for a commander in any assignment from another unit.

[Question] Founding a family is crucial in the life of every young person. Frequently love overcomes even an awareness of mission....

[Answer] A good, ordered family background can help a young person to a large degree in carrying out his tasks. I and my fellow leaders try to see to it that the families are at the mercy of the military tasks only to the most necessary extent. So I have a strict order that only those who are on duty can remain at the barracks after work time. During the day one has to work, but not in the late afternoon. We pay attention even to such apparently minor problems as, for example, duty details. Holidays and Sundays and Saturdays belong to everyone uniformly. We cannot permit some to be home more on weekends at the expense of others. In the summer it is obligatory to take 3 weeks leave at one time, for officers and noncommissioned officers alike. Nor can it happen that some commander will not let his subordinate go at the planned time.

[Question] One cannot have a family or a home without housing. Can you satisfy the needs?

[Answer] A total of two young married officers are subletting--but under cultured circumstances. We contribute 1,500 forints to their costs. Within a few months a 60 residence building will be completed and they will move there.

[Question] Do the women wait for their husbands at home "with folded hands?"

[Answer] Not at all. The council is helping a lot to see that the wives get work fitting their professional training; all of them who want to work have been placed. And there is always room in the nursery or kindergarten for the children.

[Question] What do you consider to be most important in helping those starting their careers?

[Answer] Going beyond a sensible assignment of tasks and a consistent accountability for them one must help a young person to recognize that we are counting on him here, consider his work important, that he belongs among us. Many even in the army do not yet understand the importance of this. But the human factors are determining amidst all circumstances. The young men show their gratitude for the solicitude with their good performance.

There is proof of the words of Colonel Dezso Bistyak. At the review of the minister of defense the unit was again evaluated as outstanding.

8984
CSO: 2500/174

SEMINARIANS IN MILITARY SERVICE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Istvan Illes: "Novices in the Ranks"]

[Text] A seminarian--performing his obligatory military service--was disciplined at one of the units of the Hungarian People's Army and it became such an affair--one of my acquaintances recounted--that the minister of defense himself cancelled the punishment. What he had done against the rules and whether the seminarian soldier was punished justly or unjustly the rumor did not say. I was not chasing down the story but it gave me the idea to inquire at a Great Plains garrison of young men who had chosen a priest's career and were doing their military service whether they felt any disadvantage for having chosen this vocation.

"I would like to write about seminarians doing their military service," I said to the officials at the Ministry of Defense. I picked a place, we agreed on a time, and I could go to visit the theological aspirants, their official designation in the Hungarian People's Army.

"Theological aspirants were inducted into our unit for the first time this year. Most of them are Roman Catholics but there are Reformed Church, Evangelical, Methodist and Baptist seminarians among them as well," said Colonel Dezso Bistyak, the commander.

I told the story of my acquaintance. He did not cast doubt on it but said that if a soldier violates the rules he must be disciplined--even if he is a theological aspirant. As he emphasized, they cannot make any distinctions among the soldiers--and they do not. Everyone must "merit" praise or punishment, with work or behavior of this or that sort. The theological aspirants are assigned to subunits, and during the 18 months they must master the military duties entrusted to them just like the others.

"During the year and a half they cannot live according to their faith and cannot take part in church services?"

"Yes they can, only with definite conditions. One cannot hold programs of a religious character in the people's army, but the regulations do not forbid a soldier from active or passive participation in religious services held in a

church or meeting house--just as in the case of any Hungarian citizen. But at such times he cannot wear the uniform or distinguishing insignia of the people's army. This problem can be overcome by permitting him to wear civilian clothes when he goes out, on absences or on leave."

"Must they participate in political instruction too?"

"Yes, we make no distinction in this either. They are active in the sessions and learn the material assigned. According to our experience they are well prepared men."

"And what sort of soldiers?"

"Disciplined, hard working, although when carrying out military tasks it appears that their practical sense is less developed than that of their fellows."

"Has there been a problem with any of the theological aspirants, or have they indicated any problem in connection with their service?"

"I can answer the first part of the question with an unambiguous no, and they have not approached us with their problems either. We try to anticipate situations giving a possibility for conflicts, but despite this they surely do have problems, only they do not talk about them to us."

We sat around a table in the reading room of the library with four theological aspirant soldiers. One of them said that he wanted to remain anonymous.

"We are soldiers and that is how they treat us. We have seen no discrimination, neither in regard to us or our comrades," said private Marton Hecker, aspiring to be a Methodist minister.

Imre Polyak and Sandor Majoros--both future Catholic priests--confirmed the statement of their comrade.

"How do you know that they treat the other theological aspirants as they treat you when they are assigned to another subunit?"

"A number of us share the same fate and we would tell each other or our church superiors if we found the treatment of us offensive."

"And your fellow soldiers?"

"We were odd fish in their eyes. First they were curious why we chose our vocation. Since there are a number of us they accept us better. We are the 'fathers'," said Marton Hecker.

"We try to help our fellow man, and so an understanding atmosphere surrounds us," added Imre Polyak.

I asked, "I have heard that the theological aspirants are the most active in the political sessions. Why is that?"

"We study and say what they expect of us, but we are not alone in this."

When we reached this point in our conversation the reserve dissolved and they gave their opinions, supplementing one another, without questions.

"We receive more concessions than we had hoped for. We have permanent permission to wear civilian clothes. We can keep our Bibles, the various church newspapers and journals are in the library, we can borrow the religious literature most necessary for our studies--to read there. The theological training institutes send these books for us.

"We can confer regularly, we can talk with our church superiors, who can visit us at the barracks. Recently, for example, we studied speech technique from them. We are happy that we were sent here because transportation to any part of the country is good from here so we can go home easily."

Naturally they also talked about their problems:

"We would like it if we could keep other religious books as well as the Bible so we could read them not only in the library. It would be good if we could organize language courses for ourselves."

Imre Polyak formulated their "greatest" desire:

"In the interest of those who come after us we should ask that, if possible, they be inducted before they begin their theological studies. We have found how difficult it is to keep up our information after 1-2 years."

The "anonymous" theological aspirant had no objections to what was said.

8984

CSO: 2500/174

ANTAGONISM TOWARD MILITARY EXPENDITURES DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 85 pp 19-20

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The Internal Origin of External Firmness"]

[Text] Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, like all good ministers in the government, has an "unreadable face"; he reported to the SFRY State Presidency about the attacks on the naval cadets in Split and to the Federal Assembly on the facts which have to be borne in mind before the 1986 budget is designed with the same placidity. That calm might be approximately the official attitude of the YPA concerning certain events within it during this year which is significant for defense. That is, with respect to many criteria 1985 can be taken as a point of bifurcation between the old and new practice of the armed forces. Following enactment of the Law on Nationwide Defense, new Service Regulations of the Armed Forces were adopted recently, the category of "contract soldiers" was introduced, the military training of women has been dealt with, the correctness of recruiting 19-year-olds has been confirmed, and the length of required military service has been limited to 12 months....

It has turned out that the armed forces has in structural terms been improving its internal system without showing any complexes about the hierarchized structures that had become ossified by tradition. In another parallel development this year has brought an exceptional opening up of the armed forces to the "outside world." This new spirit brought more than 1.5 million visitors to displays of equipment and armament in connection with Victory Day. These gatherings thereby lost their character of representing systems of war and turned into an event representing the unity of the "new army" and its natural environment--the people.

To tell the truth, perhaps one can explain some of the interest of the citizens in terms of the "hunger for information" in this area, since up to now new army equipment has often been shown in public with an unjustified timidity. The armament industry has been offering the most exclusive systems to customers abroad, exhibiting at some of the most prestigious military exhibitions. It earned \$1.8 billion exporting a list of 40 articles and know-how systems, and because of the drop in the cost of production of the individual weapon on the domestic market, another 7.8 billion dinars were saved.

The Other Part of the Story

However, this year has also brought certain symptoms and political pathologies not previously recorded: the first was the attack on several officers in Kosovo and the abuse of the young cadets in Split. The political diagnosis was unambiguous--the attacks were made on persons who in many ways symbolize the unity of Yugoslavia, and the intention was to evoke a fierce and immoderate reaction on the part of the YPA through those provocations. The reaction was, of course, very restrained, going no further than revealing the true motives of those provocations.

The second part of the story is the discussion about the purposiveness of the ceremonial military parade on 9 May which has been started by certain youth newspapers. Of course, it is quite within the limits of political regularity to have a differing opinion about a parade, about the costs and implications of that kind of celebration of Victory Day, or, indeed, about the country's military budget. But if that discussion is used only as the initial shot to raise questions of different origin--the Committee of the League of Communists in the YPA has rightly seen this as an "open attack on the armed forces and the defensive policy of the LCY." In a meeting of the party members in the armed forces one of the leading generals drew up a "list of reproaches" being addressed to the armed forces, and he said:

"The question is being raised why there is so much talk in the YPA about Yugoslav socialist patriotism, about Yugoslavism, about brotherhood and unity, why the traditions of the National Liberation War and the revolution are nurtured in such an organized way? It is said that the Artistic Ensemble of the YPA is an institution of the regime, that it sings songs only about the party and Tito, and there have even been individual demands that it be abolished. It is said of us in criticism that the YPA is slow to undergo socialization, and so long as the YPA exists, that defense cannot be socialized. That is much the same talk as there was in 1971 when there was a demand to abolish the YPA and to form armed forces of the republics...."

Views of this kind are followed by objections about the "gobbling up" of budget resources; and after every principled effort made by top-level military officers against the manifestations of disintegration in the country's business, economic, and cultural life, stronger comments are made about hints of "transforming the armed forces into a political factor of the first order that is fighting for its own partial interest in the distribution of social power against the other centers of social power which have become independent"--as a military theoretician evaluated those rumors in a specialized journal.

Application of the strategy of "indirect representation" is obvious; in the first phase it is supposed to prove that "it does not pay" to maintain an operational army, and then to prove its "harmfulness" for the "development of democratic relations in society," and finally to prove its "superfluity" as one of the guarantors of Yugoslavia's unity and independence. For a start, the "authors of the project" were satisfied if they caused citizens to be upset when they launched into the foreground assertions about the "unnecessarily large military budget and the assured standard of living of military personnel." However, this is how things stand.

Independence Is Expensive

Independence in these times cannot be had without a certain sacrifice (what is the alternative?), but the economic crisis has obviously hurt the armed forces triply, threatening their vital functions.

The crisis has been slowing down programs for modernization and introduction of more up-to-date weapons systems which are necessary in order to keep up to some extent with a potential aggressor. Further, the shortage of resources threatens the standard of living of officers and their families, which makes the military calling less attractive, and probably also detracts from motivation on the job. Finally, the economic crisis and its political implications threaten unity in the country which destroys the axiom that we are "as strong externally as we are united internally." In that way the primary function of the system of defense and protection--deterrence--becomes threatened.

There is therefore no need to look for special arguments about why the armed forces have stood behind the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

New Undertakings

It is obvious that the country's security is not inexpensive. Today modern tanks cost between \$2 and \$2.5 million each, a modern airplane between \$20 and \$35 million, a frigate \$200 million, and the last generation of helicopters about \$15 million. At the end of 1980 we set aside \$8,800 per soldier, and today \$6,620. Neighboring and other European countries have been allocating between \$8,200 and \$20,600.

Foreign analysts always emphasize how large our standing army is, and there is a strategic justification for it. That is, the YPA must be capable, trained, and large enough so that at any time and in any part of the country it can oppose aggression with radical objectives, especially a combined attack of units specialized in rapid intervention. This also presupposes a solid level of equipment with modern weapons systems that would withstand a superior aggressor in the air and his armored units. In spite of the financial limitations, our designers have announced continuation of efforts on the new supersonic fighter, a new combat helicopter, drones, a submarine, and systems for electronic reconnaissance and counterelectronic action. Only to a certain extent would this mean keeping up with the European nations that are spending on armament most of the \$1,000 billion the world is allocating for those purposes.

The domestic facts we have enumerated are still only quantities derived from the assessment presented some 10 days ago in the Yugoslav Assembly by Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula:

"The specific manifestations of this situation (processes of disintegration--A.T.) are the problems arising in relations among the republics and provinces in reconciling their individual and general interests, and then the ever more pronounced strengthening of statism at all levels of the organization of society and production, especially at the level of the republics and provinces. The ultimate consequence of this tendency might be or already is polycentric

statism on an ethnic basis, which in essence signifies limitation of the basic functions of the Federation as a federal state as set down in the constitution."

Defense of the federal state, which is normal, is a function of the federal state, however strange that may sound to some.

7045

CSO: 2800/146

POLITICAL, CULTURAL LIFE IN SOFIA OUTLINED

Paris LE MONDE in French 15-16 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by J.-P. Peroncel-Ilugoz]

[Text] Famous for its yogurt and its fields of roses, Bulgaria under the socialist regime has retained its ancestral charm. And Tintin [a comic-strip character] might mistake Sofia for the capital of that mythical "Syldavia" where he had so much trouble finding the scepter of Ottokar.

Sofia--Like any self-respecting large city of our time--it has over 1 million inhabitants in 1985, compared to 20,000 100 years ago--Sofia is surrounded by a dismal ring of "social" housing and "high-tech" factories. But in the city proper, "narrowminded anticommunists" on a visit are disappointed, whereas ecologists and those "nostalgic for bygone days" feel right at home.

It is true that except for the well-stocked displays in fruit and vegetable shops, the store windows are nothing to look at. Street lighting at night is worthy of a wake, and people go to bed with the chickens. This is certainly a communist capital! But tramping the streets by day is enjoyable. One does not feel watched, people's faces are pleasant, and well-dressed women, wearing somewhat subdued versions of fashions seen on Paris streets a couple of years earlier, make one remember how gray Sofia's crowds were about 10 years ago.

What has not changed, fortunately, are the parks scattered around just about everywhere in the city by some town planner at the end of the 19th century who was no doubt a follower of Alphonse Allais. The pink and white theater, the white and yellow palace of the former local tsar, the operetta-like Parliament building, and the gilded domes of the cathedral are jealously kept just as they were before "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Westerner, stupefied at home by auto exhaust, traffic jams, garish neon signs, and obsessive pubs, recaptures here the pleasure of simply walking, especially when half his route takes him under chestnut trees inhabited by squirrels. In his taxi, he selfishly enjoys the smoothly flowing traffic, while his eyes, no longer monopolized by advertising, rest on the surrounding mountains. In the evenings, he even comes to see an intimate side to the sparse public lighting.

Victor Hugo Lycee

In the mornings, schoolchildren wearing uniforms with coats of arms on them--the girls with braids entwined in big red ribbons--gladden the heart of someone upset by the sloppy appearance of children leaving a French school. Naturally, every Bulgarian schoolboy aspires to imitate such sloppiness, but he would quickly be called to order by his vice principal, even at the very posh Victor Hugo Lycee (the poet Hugo supported the Bulgarian nationalists). Nor would anyone, adult or child, dare throw a piece of paper down on the street. In Sofia, the Orient is present in the natural blue sky, soft gazes, and velvety yogurt--but the cleanliness is Swiss.

That Helvetic touch in the middle of the Balkans blends with an American-style burst of gigantism at the National Palace of Culture. A truncated pyramid of glass and marble whose 100,000 square meters are covered with wall-to-wall carpeting, it displays every convenience and gimmick that gadget-minded "decadent capitalism" has been able to invent.

The idea of Ludmilla Zhivkova, the old Bulgarian leader's beloved daughter who died in 1981 at the age of 39 (his eyes still fill with tears when her name is mentioned), was to turn that supermachinery into the temple of Bulgarian nationalism--a means as good as any other of counterbalancing the polyvalent Soviet influence. "Through a whirl of events sponsored to glorify the country's struggle first against the Byzantines and then against the Turks, and despite her very orthodox Marxist language, she administered a daily shot of Bulgarianism to her compatriots, and they loved it." Growing bolder, Ludmilla, who had obtained a diploma in the history of art at Oxford in 1970, got carried away with Hindu spirituality and began writing to the old French Christian philosopher Jean Guilton, thus causing more and more frowns in the Kremlin.

From that period of illusions, there remains in the center of the "Ludmilla Palace" a giant fresco showing the slender young woman surrounded in a reddish glow by the country's political and artistic glories since the founding of the first Bulgarian state in the ninth century. Also remaining among a number of Bulgarians is the suspicion--when it is not a certainty--that "the one who understood us" did not die a natural death.

A jailed Bulgarian writer whispered to us: "You know, it's like what happened to our Tsar Boris III, who died unexpectedly in the prime of life in 1943 just after a summit meeting with Hitler. No one will ever convince us that he was not poisoned by the Nazis because he had just refused to give them his total support." What is certain is that the disappearance of the brave man that Boris III was and the passing of his crown to his son Simeon II, a 6-year-old child, greatly facilitated the communist takeover in 1946.

Following the departure by the young tsar and his mother, Jeanne of Savoy, for Egypt, the final insult was the construction just opposite the royal residence of a mausoleum for displaying "in vitro" the mummy of Georges Dimitrov, the man falsely accused of setting fire to the Reichstag in Berlin in 1933. While not a genuine arsonist, he was a genuine propagator of Marxism-Leninism in

Europe. As for the tsar's apartments, they were used to exhibit the treasures of "socialist realism" in painting. To this we will add the notation "worth a detour," which guidebooks published in the West, being very tight-lipped on the subject, dare not mention.

To have light even in the fountains, orchestras playing in groves, social evenings, and even traffic jams (consisting exclusively of automobiles belonging to the rulers), one must be invited to Boyana Palace by President Todor Zhivkov. Bulgaria's number one man does not live in that modern Petit Trianon, but he likes to welcome his guests there, where they are saluted by guards in frogged uniforms and crested forage caps--all very much in the style of prewar "Mitteleuropa."

And suddenly one claps one's forehead: "Of course, damn it! Sofia is Klow, the capital of the Kingdom of Syldavia that was thought up by Herge for his scepter of Ottokar!" Marx has made himself comfortable here for the past 40 years, but contrary to what he has done in Bucharest, here he has had the good taste to treat the decor with respect.

His tact has saved even the statues of the heroes--without a Marxist bone in their bodies--who in the last century rid the country of the "Ottoman yoke," to use the name by which it is still called. Surprisingly, even the monumental equestrian statue of Tsar Alexander II of Russia on the circular plaza in front of Parliament--erected in 1907--has not been taken down, and neither has the bronze wreath that King Carol of Romania added to its pedestal. Bulgarians hardly appreciate the Soviet system, but as Slavs, they have long practiced historical solidarity with the Russian people, who, moreover, are Orthodox in religion like themselves. Moscow is smart enough not to keep a Red Army garrison in Bulgaria.

Slavicized Islam

The spot in Sofia where the "elder brother's" influence is most visible is in the very heart of the city in the area around the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. At the top of the city's only Stalinist building of any importance, a star has been set up, and a red fist reaches toward the sky. At the other end of the square, Lenin holds up only a fist of gray stone. But even within that "sacred space," communism is not alone. A large hotel belonging to an American chain is currently being installed in some renovated old buildings under the very nose of the Bolshevik leader. And he has always had to endure the presence at his side of what must have been two symbols of obscurantism in his eyes: a church and a mosque.

Said to be the work of Mimar Sinan, the great architect of the Ottoman 16th century, the Banya-Bachi Mosque is conveniently located, as is proper, between a market and a public bath. Today it is probably the saddest spot in Sofia. Open only on Friday, the Moslem day of common prayer, it is visited on that day by a few small groups of men of all ages. Like people in distress, their faces are somber and their shoulders are pulled in. It is true that unlike Christianity, which brightens under harassment, Islam draws no luster from such treatment. But the humiliation imposed on Bulgarian Moslems--who make up

about 10 percent of the population--over the past few months by the enforced Slavicizing of their names has been especially cruel (see LE MONDE, 2 August).

That attack on the personality of a community--practiced with a mixture of pettiness and violence unequalled in the recent annals of Europe--has sometimes resulted in tragicomic situations which only underscore the absurdity of the Bulgarian regime's decision. As one example, a famous Moslem athlete from Bulgaria bearing the new patronymic forced upon him was recently on a tour of Hungary, where he had previously won a medal under his former (and real) identity. A Budapest newspaper thought it was performing a service--and it was--when it informed its readers of the athlete's two names. But by doing so, it aroused the bad humor of the Bulgarian leaders, who saw the newspaper's action as a stab at their "policy of national assimilation." No doubt about it--in Sofia, one is never very far from the court of Syldavia.

11798

CSO: 2900/14

CTK CITES RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEW WITH SWAPO'S NUJOMA

LD211127 Prague CTK in English 1030 GMT 21 Jan 86

[Text] Prague, 21 Jan (CTK)--American reactionary circles strive to turn the conflict in southern Africa, which is a result of the existence of the apartheid regime, into a confrontation between East and West, Chairman of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) Sam Nujoma said in an interview carried by today's RUDE PRAVO.

Sam Nujoma said that the Reagan government's decision to give millions of dollars to UNITA in Angola gives rise to an extremely critical political-military situation in southern Africa.

The SWAPO leader said UNITA was nothing but a helper of the army of the apartheid regime and that the money for UNITA will in fact serve South Africa so that it may continue its aggression against Angola and other countries like Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. He said Washington continues its blackmailing policy of setting conditions which help South Africa maintain the unlawful occupation of Namibia under the pretext of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola.

The SWAPO leader pointed out that the revolutionary process in South Africa was irreversible and that the armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia and the people's resistance in southern Africa will force the regime of apartheid to increase its defence spendings and the more it spends, the weaker its financial position will be.

Sam Nujoma said that a peaceful and just solution of the Namibia problem requires a ceasefire between SWAPO forces and the South African occupation army in Namibia and the calling of UN-supervised democratic elections in Namibia.

In conclusion the SWAPO leader said his organization appreciated the all-round support given it by the socialist countries and also Czechoslovakia's aid in training the young generation of southern Africa.

/9274

CSO: 2020/83

BILAK GIVES OPENING SPEECH AT INTERNATIONAL FORUM

AU180601 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 85 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, at the opening session of the National Theoretical-Practical Conference organized by the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation on 9 December in Prague: "The Laws Governing Socialism and Their Implementation in Building the New Society and in the International Class Struggle"; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] As we have already announced, on Monday [9 December] Comrade Vasil Bilak addressed the National Theoretical-Practical Conference, held in Prague with an international attendance, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the adoption of a significant CPCZ Document--Lessons Learned From The Crisis Development of the Party and Society After the 13th Party Congress. We are publishing his speech.

Comrades, 15 years have passed since the time when the CPCZ carried out a deep analysis of the critical development in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress. From this analysis we have drawn lessons for the work of the party and the work of state, social, and other agencies and institutions. The period since that time has affirmed that the conclusions we have drawn are both correct and topical. In going back to this significant document today, we are not doing so in order to speak of events which preceded the elaboration of the document. We are reverting to it in order to constantly have in mind, on the basis of the experience that was generalized within it and also of the experience acquired during the following development, the need for a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the development and conduct of the struggle against various shortcomings and the need for a more energetic solving of new tasks on the path of building the developed socialist society. The topical nature of the Lessons is particularly obvious at present, when the preparations for the party's 17th Congress are culminating. The congress agenda will include a further elaboration of the program for building the developed socialist society, connected with a substantial acceleration of Czechoslovakia's social and socioeconomic advance. The times in which we live demand a change in our entire way of thinking and in our approach to current tasks. In particular, the main thing will be to make better and more efficient use of the vast possibilities and

advantages of socialism. These are categorical demands, raised by the needs of our peoples; they are the demand to better meet our peoples' material and spiritual needs and, at the same time, to ensure the defense of our own country and of the entire socialist community in its battle for peace and world progress.

Within its preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress, the party has launched the mobilization both of communists and of all components of the National Front, so that the tasks set by the 16th Congress will be successfully accomplished.

In evaluating the development to date, we note positive results. We are also succeeding in resolving certain problems which until recently seemed insurmountable. We have accomplished a great deal in realizing the program of building the developed socialist society. This also established good prerequisites for entering the coming years. At the same time, we all know that we have only begun to realize this program. We are now faced by further, no less complicated tasks. We must achieve greater dynamics in society's development--in its economy, social relations, political structures, the improvement of the entire sum-total of the people's working and living conditions, as well as a further enrichment of their spiritual life. This is the only path that leads forward and represents the revolutionary development of society.

The force of our progress also lies in our not being alone on this path--other fraternal socialist countries have also embarked on it. The Soviet Communists are marching in the front ranks. Their falling into line for the 27th CPSU Congress is truly impressive and inspiring. It is a course directed toward further consolidating and comprehensively developing the internal forces and international positions of socialism. It contributes toward increasing the attractiveness of socialism and its ideological influence on all peoples of the world. The CPSU's course is an extremely rich source of inspiration for us, too. It is precisely for this reason that this program policy enjoys such great interest among the Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia, and is being received by them with great affinity.

Sources of Knowledge and Instruction

Comrades, socialism is the first society that is being built according to program, on the basis of the knowledge and active utilization of laws governing social development. Since the Great October, and thanks to the consistent and creative activity of the CPSU and to its great political-organizational work, theoretical approaches have become the authentic contents of the people's concrete work. Both the results achieved and the experience acquired are increasingly becoming a rich source for the Marxist-Leninist parties and for the working people in general in their construction of the new society. The development of our own party to date also confirms that the more demanding the tasks that emerge to face us, the deeper we must delve into this rich source.

The socialist world of today is historically young; it must resolve not only the problems that have accumulated in the preceding centuries, but above all it must pave the way for new and unprecedented solutions and approaches. Socialism has saved man from social, national, and racial oppression; it affords and provides unprecedented opportunities for personal and social development; it raises his dignity. At the same time, however, objectively it has not been able to develop fully in such a short time and concurrent with such an enormous international and class struggle, and to implement the sociopolitical and moral principles of socialism in people's everyday life. The fact that we are encountering unforeseen obstacles and rocks on the unresearched and unpaved road is a natural phenomenon. A search is always a complicated process; and if things are simplified, underrated, or overrated--even side by side with applying the experience acquired by our own as well as other parties--then errors and mistakes occur which can have a great social impact. V.I. Lenin already pointed out repeatedly that, "Naturally, the novelty and difficulty of transformation brings forth many steps that are taken, so-to-say, blindly; it brings forth many mistakes and waverings." (V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, p 244) This knowledge applies particularly to the situation in which we are building a new society, one without exploiters, and intended to replace the old social order that had been "perfected" by generations. We are building the new society in a keen international class struggle. The forces of international capital are escalating the fight against socialism and are not loath to use any and all means for this, just so that they destroy socialism or at least weaken and discredit it.

The experience acquired by our party also confirms that the countries which have embarked on the road of socialist construction must take into account the fact that, even after they take over political power and install new production relations, the vestiges of the defeated bourgeoisie and the former privileged strata will continue to exist. Their strength lies in their experience, their friendships, in diverse obsolescent elements and traditions, in the deep roots of petit bourgeois morality. These factors cannot be totally overcome during the lifetime of a single generation, either. For many long years they will remain a dormant cancer; and in a suitable political climate, when vigilance, class discernment, and ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist party are weakened, these forces are capable of rapidly regenerating and making use of every suitable moment to attempt social revanche.

In our country, the conditions for an activation of these forces were already established in the sixties. Somehow we forgot the Hungarian events of 1956. In any case, we did not learn sufficiently from them; on the contrary, we consoled ourselves that nothing like that could happen here in the CSSR. On the other hand we must deplorably concede that our class adversary had evaluated the Hungarian events in the proper manner and drew from them appropriate conclusions for his own further course. We have also failed to take into account the fact that certain conflicts emerge under socialism which are nonantagonistic but which, if not analyzed and resolved in time, can grow to become nourishing soil for the operations of hostile forces.

We do not want to foist our opinion on anybody. We are convinced, though, that our own experience, like the experience of other fraternal parties, confirms that the fight to protect socialism is progressing beyond national borders and is becoming an international component of the entire international communist and workers movement. The experience gained in this manner expands the knowledge and practices of individual Marxist-Leninist parties and can be utilized in the struggle to consolidate the political power of the working class.

Czechoslovakia played an important role in the long-term plans of international reaction. As far back as February 1948, it became the object of broad-based political, economic, and ideological subversions. The crisis that had emerged suited reaction. That is also why our manner of resolving it evoked such furious resistance and the endeavor to make the Czechoslovak crisis international. The antisocialist forces succeeded in spreading such misinformation that even certain fraternal parties and a part of the population at home were unable to separate the truth from the lies. It was necessary to provide an answer to the question asked both at home and abroad: namely, how was it possible that, 20 years after the power takeover, a threat of a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat had emerged?

When a Class Approach Was Lacking

Comrade Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, stated at the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in June 1969: "We are often asked whether we had sufficient internal strength to successfully defend the socialist achievements. Yes, we did. So where was our mistake? We know from Lenin the significance of a principle-minded, purposeful, and resolute leadership of the communist party, particularly in critical situations. In critical moments, this is the decisive link. But in the CPCZ leadership there was no unity in January 1968, either in the appraisal of the situation, or in the views of the program of prospects and goals. In the intoxication caused by cheap 'popularity,' one forgot the class roots and motivations of the social conflict and also the operations of the class enemy and his ideology both at home and abroad."

Comrade Husak promised that the CPCZ would carry out an honorable analysis of the entire development, as a lesson for itself and for others. Our party has accomplished this task. Nothing is embellished or exaggerated in the Lessons. Without passions or emotions, the document shows the causes and the consequences--the objective truth that is not weakened by time, but strengthened.

It was not without a harsh struggle that the Lessons could be elaborated. At that time the party had not yet been cleansed. The CPCZ Central Committee, as well as other important bodies, still had a lot of people who refused to acknowledge the truth about the causes of the Czechoslovak crisis and about the intentions of the antisocialist forces and who, on the contrary, were striving to make everybody forget everything as soon as possible, so that they could entrench themselves and wait for a new opportunity.

After Comrade Gustav Husak was elected head of the party, the Marxist-Leninist forces had to think of the future, and of not permitting the crisis to be repeated. It was necessary to create a document which would become the basis for the party's purification and the cleansing of National Front organizations and state and economic agencies from top to bottom, and would thus renew the entire structure of the political system. The time that has passed since those days has affirmed that this work was successfully accomplished.

The Lessons Learned From the Crisis Development of the Party and Society After the 13th Party Congress, which was adopted at the CPCZ Central Committee session in December 1970, became the starting point for consolidating the processes in Czechoslovakia, and the stimulus and weapon of all who were striving to consolidate and further develop socialism in our country.

After many months in which the right-wingers flooded the country with demagoguery, we received a clear-cut and businesslike analysis of the events which had caused such harm to the entire society and which had also led to human tragedies. At the same time, the mirror was held up to the true face of those who had talked about socialism with a human face in order to cover up their attack on the very foundations of our people's socialist certainties. The significance of this document also lies in the fact that it mercilessly revealed our own mistakes and transgressions, perpetuated in building socialism and later used in a most sophisticated manner by domestic and foreign reaction for its far-reaching political plans.

The clearcut and comprehensible CPCZ program of resolving the critical situation and ensuring further progress in building socialist society, of politically isolating the right-wingers, and of renewing and consistently implementing Leninist principles was received with affinity and support by the overwhelming majority of our working people. The Communists and all true patriots who had been silenced and terrorized by the right-wingers now began working with new enthusiasm. Very soon the false heroes of the "revival" were forgotten. They were rejected by a great majority of those whom they had swindled for a time with pleasing words and phrases. Even the figures of the "Prague Spring" lost the masks behind which they hide.

Many exponents of "humanized socialism" showed themselves in their true light after their departure to the West, where they entered the services of anticommunist centers--some of them had already been in their service long ago in the past--and where they are now continuing their hateful heckling against Socialist Czechoslovakia, against their fatherland. They are dirtying and devaluing all that is dear to every citizen who is not indifferent to the fate of this country. Today, every sensible and honest citizen of our country must have already grasped that the fraternal international assistance that was granted to us at the most difficult moment by the Soviet Union and by other fraternal states was truly inevitable.

Our allies did not wait for the counterrevolution to carry out the fratricidal battle, for thousands of people to perish. They arrived in time to prevent a bloody tragedy. They did this in the awareness that this act could initially encounter a lack of understanding, both in our country and abroad.

What To Develop, What To Avoid

Years later, when we again revert to the Lessons, we realize anew that the document was not merely a program of the battle for the victory of Marxist-Leninist forces over right-wing opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces. The document drew conclusions and lessons, which have not lost validity to this very day, from the ominous approaches and courses. It is precisely this knowledge, based on the analysis of developments, that has become the source of our further successes.

At the same time, the Lessons have drawn a clear line between things that must be developed and guarded like the apple of one's eye and things that must be avoided and must not be permitted. The document summed up the nature and roots of events which were exacerbated into one of the greatest postwar clashes between the worlds of socialism and imperialism. This alone shows that the document's importance is not limited to Czechoslovakia alone. Dozens of fraternal parties are working with it, using it as a document from which they are also learning for their own course.

We did not consign the lasting values which have passed such a harsh test to the archives. They have become part of our party's general program which was elaborated at the 14th CPCZ Congress. Both the 15th and 16th Congress proceeded from it, developed it further, and specified the program of building developed socialism. This program that the party formulated was received by our people as their own; they enriched it with their own valuable ideas and supported it by their devoted work. By achieving our results, by comprehensively developing society, we have given a clear answer to all those who have been prophesying our total disintegration. Facts speak a clear language. They cannot be disproved by any humbug on the part of those whose prognoses have crumbled like a house of cards.

The positive results we have achieved in all spheres would be unthinkable without the renewal of the party's unity and ability to act, without its leading role in society and its close ties with the people. Since the CPCZ Central Committee session in April 1969, the party has traversed a difficult but successful road. It had to resolve weighty all-social tasks, while simultaneously renewing its ideological and political unity, its ability to act. The right-wing opportunists calculated that the party was so disintegrated and affected by opportunism that it would not have sufficient strength to cope with this within a short period. They claimed that the younger generation was definitely lost to the party. Their hopes have failed to materialize. The party has grown in numbers, it has become younger. During the post-crisis period, more

than 800,000 members joined the CPCZ. Whereas in 1968 the average age in the party was 50 years, today it is 44. The party has become organizationally and ideologically consolidated; it is linked up with its best revolutionary traditions. In this process, the Lessons played an invaluable role. The following data speak of the current quality of the membership base: One-third of the members are less than 35 years old, almost two-thirds of the communists work in the production sphere, and 42 percent of party members have secondary school or university-level education. Even these few facts confirm that the party has every prerequisite for mastering the most important tasks in further building socialist society.

Developments have affirmed that the party's purification was both inevitable and correct. Without it the Communist Party would have been incapable of overcoming the crisis in its own ranks and of leading society onto the road of further all-around socialist development.

It is as the 15th CPCZ Congress stressed: "The party has cleansed itself of those who had parted ways with the scientific world outlook, with Marxism-Leninism, and who openly pushed for the enforcement of their antipopular intentions in the years 1968-69. At the same time, various people who wavered and lacked firmness have had to leave the party after having panicked in the critical situation and succumbed to revisionist pressures and to false, nationalist, anti-Soviet, and anti-party slogans and moods. Those who were passive for a long time have also left the party."

A large majority of those who have not been issued new party membership cards have grasped their mistakes and errors--above all in consequence of the party's successful policy and of the development of our society. They have grasped that their erroneous stances were incompatible with the behavior of a member of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. Through their work they are now contributing to the development of our society, they are making use of all the rights of CSSR citizens, and they are fully able to participate in political life and to work within the framework of the National Front organizations.

The adversaries of the Lessons are divided into two groups: those who are striving to abolish the Lessons because, they claim, the document is preventing the party and the socialist state from coming to an agreement with opposition groups; and those who are doing everything to kill the memory of the Lessons. The CPCZ is striving to constantly deepen the unity of the party and the people, but it will not develop a dialogue with antistate elements. The small handful of people who were benefiting from socialism prior to the crisis, who later betrayed it, and--after the failure of their plans--who then created various small antistate groupings, including the so-called Charter 77--these people represent nobody in Czechoslovakia; and only those who are paid by the anticommunist centers listen to their voices.

Those who are striving to have the Lessons forgotten have long-term plans for reestablishing the soil that is suitable for disrupting and weakening the fundamental pillars of socialism. Nobody denies that a feeling of having been wronged has been born in some individuals--the feeling that they perhaps forfeited their party membership card for nothing. However, it was essential to cleanse the party. If a living organism is struck by a dangerous disease--and the CPCZ was--it is inevitable that a part of the healthy body will also be cut off during the surgery.

That is why it was said at the 15th Congress: "Proceeding from this experience, the Central Committee is of the opinion that those who have not been active representatives of right-wing opportunism, who are working well, who are proving by their deeds that they stand firmly and sincerely on the positions of socialism and of our friendship with the Soviet Union, who actively support the policy of our party, such people can again be received as members of our party, after an individual assessment of every individual case."

The party and the socialist state have not renounced those who want to help honestly after having erred. This is borne out by the fact that quite a number of those who did not pass the party screening have been elected deputies to representative agencies or to committees of social organizations; they have received orders and decorations and have even been honored by the highest state awards. Perhaps it will do no harm to repeat that 24 percent of the sum total of those who did not receive a new party membership card were older than 60 years of age; and that only 18 percent did not hold the same function as before the screening.

Our Approach to Successes and Shortcomings

Esteemed comrades, quite a number of people did not believe that we would succeed in successfully mastering the problems that had accumulated in the socioeconomic sphere in the past, and in resolving the new tasks with which life confronted us. But what are the facts? During the last 15 years, the created social production increased 74 percent, and the national income 72 percent. Industrial production increased 93 percent, and agricultural production 33 percent.

The main tasks of the Seventh Congress were fulfilled under substantial complicated internal and external conditions than those to which we were accustomed in the past. Our external balance of payments is essentially balanced--and a whole number of the most developed capitalist states cannot boast this. We did not achieve this to the detriment of our living standards, which are steadily improving. I do not want to tire you with lots of figures but it remains a fact that there is not a single sphere in which Czechoslovakia has not achieved marked, significant success.

We are proud of the results achieved by our people under the CPCZ's leadership; but we are struck neither by deafness nor by blindness toward our own weaknesses and difficulties. We know about them, and better than

all those who would so greatly like to abuse them against the socialist system. The critically demanding attitude with which we are uncovering the main roots of the shortcomings, as well as our initiative in registering new needs and tasks and in the struggle to enforce them are the axis and the basic imperative of our party's policy. Herein lies the core of the lessons, which remind us of the warnings of the past.

In each stage of development we must search for the main link in the chain and see the more distant goals, without losing sight of specific tasks. In our national economy we must accelerate the creation of resources, increase labor productivity, and enhance the efficiency of the entire production process. We simply cannot continue on the road of extensive development any longer. It would lead us to stagnation, to lower standards of living for the people.

The world has reached the threshold of a qualitatively new phase of the R&D revolution. It opens up prospects for an unprecedented enhancement of man's productive powers. The struggle for mastering new horizons in the R&D knowledge and for introducing its results into production has become part of the keen class struggle between the forces of socialism and those of capitalism. It is the decisive factor in their mutual relationship and ideological influence. It is also the sphere which will be decisive for averting nuclear war and for preserving and consolidating world peace. With its developed industry, agriculture, and R&D potential, the CSSR bears a considerable share of responsibility in this international confrontation.

This approach of ours is also reflected in preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress. We are proceeding from the principle that we are faced by a two-on-one task: on the one hand to strikingly deepen the influence exerted by society as a whole on the promotion of the main qualitative aspects of production, of the kind of structure, quality, and nature of costs which we will be producing; and on the other hand to improve planning and management.

The essential thing is to exclude the kind of management which would make it possible to interfere in all kinds of secondary issues and to set in motion the repeated shuffling of papers, reports, and statement sheets, while leaving aside all that is essential.

There is a lot of justified talk about the human factor. The human factor, is, in fact, in quality of all work, the development of initiative, the struggle against passivity and indifference, and for order and discipline, both personal and collective. Without man's active attitude one cannot realize bold plans and intentions; and without their realization the people's longing cannot be fulfilled. It is our daily and permanent task to raise the creative initiative of the broadest possible masses to the required level. It is necessary to adopt measures which would turn the interest of the entire society into a totally direct, personal interest

of every citizen. "The idea," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels already wrote in the past, "was always disgraced whenever it was torn away from the interest." (K. Marx--F. Engels, Works, vol 2, Prague 1957, p 99) It must not be worthwhile for anybody to produce for the shelf and to squander values wastefully. Everybody must be made to feel that he is appraised according to his real contribution. He must feel this on his pay slip, in the moral appraisal that he gets, and also in the way he can share in the use of social consumption funds.

Our shortcomings in this sphere, too, do not follow from the socialist social order; they are the result of the failure to make consistent use of the opportunities provided for us by this order. Let us take note of how the anticommunist centers advise us what we should do to improve our life. How is it that those who wish the socialist countries ill, who damn them and approve of various embargoes and discriminations, who are paying the people who harm socialism, are at the same time advising us in such a motherly way about how to avoid mistakes? Simultaneously they follow the principle that the worse everything is for us, the better it is for them.

We have here an effort to make us stray from the right path. They recommend that we renounce the very things on which our socialist economy is based. We are meant to panic, to believe that in the face of the new requirements nothing else is left for us but to "separate economy from politics," to open the valves for "free enterprise" and for the anarchy of market mechanisms, and to create an army of unemployed.

But it is useless for them to rely on our bad memory. The glitter and misery of those who staked everything on precisely such "well-meant recommendations" have been revealed in all their nakedness by the crisis-ridden years. The less they created, the more they strove to disrupt. The scope that was to have been freed for private-ownership greed was meant to become the dynamite placed under the foundations of the system of the working people's political power.

The road toward rectification leads in exactly the opposite direction: via better use of the advantages of socialist economy, the perfection of its planned development, the precise and comprehensively substantiated criteria which must apply to the results achieved by every enterprise, plant, and individual. No supernatural forces determine whether the people are remunerated according to socialist principles, according to the quantity and quality of work delivered. This issue fully lies within the authority of those who share in the management of production. The sooner a foreman or director knows that he will be evaluated according to precise and firm criteria and that only the results, and they alone, will determine both his earnings and his position at work, the sooner an end will be put to various excuses about "objective" reasons.

We can often hear objections that this would not be understood by the working people. But the opposite is true: the people do not understand why the unconscientious are rewarded the same as the conscientious, and the average the same as the outstanding; and why bad work receives the same appreciation as good work. People like things to be in order. Why did the people support us during the complicated years of building socialism, and give us their support when we were overcoming the crisis too? Surely the rightwingers unleashed a supremely hypocritical demagoguery in those days! Did we perhaps promise an easy life? We have never concealed what a lot of work lies before us. Social justice is that magnet which attracts people to the Communists' program. Social justice is the decisive source which produces the internal strength and unshakeable nature of our system, and the people's resolve to build and defend the socialist society.

The fulfillment of the new and exacting tasks which our society has to accomplish, and not only in the sphere of socioeconomic development, most urgently requires an overall improvement of cadre work on all levels and in all sectors of management. This, too, is an important knowledge supplied by the Lessons.

A High International Prestige

Esteemed comrades, the CSSR is a firm link of the socialist community and an active element of international events. The prophecies of those who foretold for us an international isolation have also not come true. Our principled foreign policy, pursued in the interests of peace, detente, and cooperation, enjoys a broad international recognition among all revolutionary, progressive, and democratic forces of the world. Today the world regards Czechoslovakia as an internally strong, consolidated state with a high international prestige. Today the CSSR is again a firm and reliable link of the countries of the socialist community. Unity, cohesion, and a coordinated course in foreign policy are of extremely important significance, particularly at present, when the international situation has become extremely dangerous through the fault of the aggressive policy of imperialist forces.

We could witness how the policy of imperialism has been breaking all records of political cynicism in the last few years. It loudly proclaims freedom and democracy, humanism and human rights, and even social justice. All this is merely meant to justify the course which is the supreme embodiment of class egotism, aggressive hegemonism, and state terrorism, of the endeavor to reverse the correlation of forces and to turn back the clock of history at any price whatsoever.

The war preparations have achieved monstrous proportions. The nuclear catastrophe is hanging over the life of all mankind like a sword of Damocles. The fight for peace is acquiring a totally new quality. With the barrier which it is erecting against the imperialist aggression, socialism not only defends its own security and the certainties of the

people of its own countries, but also the security of all mankind. And that is why the all-around growth of socialism's economic and defense potential, of its internal strength and its technical and economic independence, its attractiveness, and its ideological influence--all this is also the main front line where the fight for mankind's survival is being waged. This gives a totally new sense to the idea voiced by Karl Marx in the past: "At last the workers class is now entering the arena of history not as a humble servant, but as an independent force that is aware of its responsibility, and is also capable of dictating peace where those who would like to be its masters are breaking out into a battle-cry." (K. Marx--F. Engels, Works, Vol. 16, Prague 1965, p 396)

Today this force is joined by further millions of peace fighters, irrespective of their class, political, religious, or race denomination. This graphically affirms the fact of the welcome accorded to the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Geneva. The opening of the dialogue has become a great international event.

At the conference of general and first secretaries on fraternal parties in Prague, everybody expressed appreciation of Comrade Gorbachev's course in Geneva, and full support of the Soviet peace policy.

The recent CPCZ Central Committee session expressed the resolve of the entire party, of all Czechoslovak people, to join even more emphatically in the struggle to avert the danger of a nuclear war, to halt feverish armament on earth and prevent it from spreading into space, and to achieve a turn for the better in international relations.

This will be neither easy, nor simple. The road to Geneva was a complicated one, it demanded that quite a few abysses be bridged. The struggle to fulfill the Geneva conclusions and the achievement of a disarmament agreement will demand no small effort. We must also see that the forces opposed to the realization of understanding are both strong and influential. On 1 December the American magazine [as published] INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE asked: "Does the Geneva meeting deserve its own page in history?" Its answer was: "Probably not." We are deeply convinced that the first page has already been written and that the world will not proceed to develop according to the HERALD TRIBUNE people's wishes. They are sure to distort the results of Geneva and to cast doubt on them; but this is something that we must reckon with.

The United States is claiming everything it thinks it could use. Rosanne Ridgeway, deputy secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs, declared in the House of Representatives: "Eastern Europe is unfree and unstable." The origins of 15 million American lie in East Europe. That is why we are deeply interested in the fate of these peoples. We refuse to accept any division of European peoples. "What division did she mean--the division into socialist and capitalist peoples?" But do they really think there that they can halt the course of history? And do they recognize at all the Final Act of Helsinki, which they signed?

Brzezinski goes even further; he even suggests how to proceed to unify the peoples. "A new united Europe," he says, "can emerge solely in consequence of a planned, but cautious stimulation of the process of changes--it could be said of a secret process--which it will not be easy to discern and which it will also be difficult to oppose."

The orientation toward a revision of the results of World War II, the acquisition of military supremacy and the dictates of one's will from a position of strength, as well as the weakening of the unity of countries of the socialist community via revival of nationalism and other phenomena which are alien to Marxism-Leninism--all this remains the main direction of operations pursued by the militarist and anticommunist forces.

Development of the Values of Socialism

Comrades, a significant place in the Lessons is held by the issues of upbringing and of the development of the party's ideological and mass-political work. The document points out correctly that the neglect of this work did not become manifest only when the counterrevolution was reaching for power--it was one of the causes of the crisis which ripened gradually. The new problems brought by life failed to receive clearcut, substantiated answers from Marxist-Leninist positions. This opened the scope for various false recipes, for demagogy, and thus enabled the rightwingers to gain influence. Shortcomings in theoretical work, formalism, a defensive attitude, and lack of attention to ideological upbringing work weakened the party's ability to act and its ties with the masses and opened the doors to so-called bearers of the revival.

After April 1969, we drew consistent conclusions from this and set up a clearcut program of the development of ideological work. It is also because of this that we were able to overcome the mass disorientation in such a short time, to revive the values of socialism in the people's way of thinking, and to develop their initiative. The ideological front, the mass work of hundreds of thousands of communists, have strikingly contributed to all the successes we have achieved in the following period. In this respect, too, we followed up the rich experience provided by the party's history.

Already in February 1948 Comrade Klement Gottwald compared the role of ideological work to the "party's long-range artillery." But it is an even apter metaphor for the tasks which confront us today: neither more, nor less than to influence and orient the overall social psychology more substantially than to date. This is an essential condition of the turn which we must push through in society's life.

But even the turn which we are fighting for in the material sphere will not take place suddenly. Scientific and technological progress will not arrive and emerge at the very moment when new machinery and equipment is installed in the production halls. One must strive for this progress immediately, now, in everything, at every work place. This is no illusion,

either. This is shown by the experience of hundreds of innovators, improvers, and inventors, of whole collectives which have really adopted this task as their own. Herein lie the foundations of man's socialist awareness, of his discipline and orderliness, as the prerequisite for the full use of modern technology for the benefit of all society. The higher the demands placed on us in mastering scientific and technological progress and the more we need investments and innovations in technology, the more important is the awareness of responsibility as regards social needs. From this follows the essential need to deeply understand and grasp the trends of social development, of life in our country, of what is happening in the world. How our people understand the advantages of socialism and its historical supremacy over capitalism is no longer decisive only for the firmness of their convictions; it becomes the key source and main driving force of their determination to cope with new tasks. It also shows their true patriotism, and their class and international convictions.

A significant role in this process must be played by the social sciences, which we expect to provide timely and very thorough analyses of, and replies to, the important issues of our social development.

Several thousand people work in the sphere of the social sciences. They are an army from which we justly demand far more than we do now, both in the sphere of enhancing the effectiveness of propaganda, and elaborating the long-term issues of further building the developed socialist society. I think that rectification must be sought in planning, and in the entire organization of work in the working places of social sciences--and this must be done as speedily as possible, without further delays. Only this road can raise the overall efficiency of the front of social sciences in the search for new approaches to the solution of problems, and at the same time enhance political-educational activity.

The cogency of educational, information-propaganda work depends on the way it replies to questions which stand in the center of the people's attention and interest. This is what finally determines their correct orientation and their ability to support the party's policy and to realize it by practical deeds. Barren enlightenment work, the circumvention of vital problems, and the discussion of topics which are scarcely interesting for anybody, not only diminish the credibility of those who act in this manner, but regrettably also the truthful nature of our policy. This means playing into the hands of our enemies, who intend to denigrate the very substance of our political power by various slogans. We cannot permit the initiative to be left to the adversary in such issues as freedom, democracy, human rights, and so forth.

Socialism Cannot Be Destroyed

What Mikhail Gorbachev stressed during his meeting with the Stachanovites and their new generation, also applies to us: "We are striving to make more known about all spheres of society's life. The people must know about

all that is good and bad, so that they can develop the good and relentlessly fight the bad. It is necessary to eliminate all sugar-coating from our socialist family, from our socialist society, very energetically."

At the same time the fight against sugar-coating must not be waged in the way it used to be waged by rightwing opportunists, who denigrated everything.

If it is necessary to point this out again, it is not merely in the nature of criticism addressed to the ideological front. It applies to all those who were entrusted with responsibility for a certain sector, for leadership of a collective. Trust in people always comes back, multiplied by the growth of their confidence and active support of the party's policy. This is an important part of the development of socialist democracy, as well as a weapon in the fight against bureaucracy.

The propaganda aggression conducted against us by imperialism is not an end in itself. It was precisely the critical years that revealed its main goal. The campaign against the ideological values of socialism has developed into an attack at the very foundations of the political system, the economy, and defense ability of the socialist society. The campaigns of misinformation, which were a prelude to this for many years, have also become the main weapon of the attack.

These are lessons we must never forget or lose sight of, particularly today, when the psychowar has become an official policy that is centrally directed by the NATO staff under the patronage of the White House. The strategists of these subversive operations themselves concede that the ideological dispute is not the main thing. The mission of psychowar, as one of them wrote, is "to achieve military aims without making a direct mass use of military means."

One can scarcely put it with greater precision. As regards the role played by these campaigns in the eyes of the Western public, the nail was hit on the head by American scientist Noam Chomsky, who wrote in the English newspaper the GUARDIAN among other things: "Why does one need a cold war? It is the means of accomplishing a feverish mobilization of the population in support of an aggressive social policy."

For years state subsidies for imperialist propaganda have been growing more rapidly than subsidies for militarist preparations. There is no economizing, particularly as regards the modernization that is underway in the technical facilities of bourgeois propaganda. In this way the apparatus charged with manipulating the Western public and organizing ideological subversion against socialism is gradually acquiring qualitatively new possibilities. The basic measures dictated by the revolution in the communications and information-documentary technology of propaganda must not be underrated; this is all the more true since every--and it is no exaggeration to say every--issue is today the sphere

of an ideological clash if it reflects, however distantly the historical conflict of our era--the conflict between socialism and capitalism.

The states of the socialist community formulate their domestic and foreign policy in a clear and comprehensible manner. They do not threaten anybody, they do not foist their political system or their way of life on anybody. Proof of this is also the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program. Although it is the CPSU's program, it objectively reaches beyond the Soviet Union's borders and becomes the program not only of the communists and the progressive forces but also of the human race as a whole. Not one capitalist state, not even the most developed and richest, and not one political party--if it is not guided by the scientific Marxist-Leninist view--is capable of formulating and realizing such a program.

It is a program of social justice, of a high culture, education, humanism, happiness, and brotherhood of people irrespective of the color of their skins and of their race--a program of certainty and world peace. That is what imperialism is afraid of, that is where it cannot compete with socialism.

The draft program justly stresses that: "Against the young world of socialism, oriented toward the future, stands the dangerous and still strong exploitationist world of capitalism, which nevertheless has already left its peak behind it. The more historical developments undermine the positions of imperialism, the more hostile is the policy of its most reactionary forces to the peoples' interests."

From this deep historic truth we must draw the conclusion that the hostility of these forces toward the socialist countries will still multiply. This hatred often darkens their sight, so that they are incapable of seeing the realistic situation. They do not reflect on how to live and coexist, they reflect on how to destroy socialism. But socialism cannot be destroyed. Whoever attempts to do so, would simultaneously destroy himself. "We have come to the conclusion," Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said in Geneva, "that the time has come when we must learn the great art of coexisting, in view of the threat of a general nuclear danger."

We Will Multiply the Effectiveness of Our Ideas

Comrades, the conclusion of the CPCZ Central Committee document, which was adopted 15 years ago and confirmed shortly after that by the 14th Party Congress, stressed: "The lessons learned in the great trials, struggles, and harsh battles all commit our party, every Communist, every honest citizen of our country with a socialist way of thinking, to protect and develop socialism and never again to permit it to be threatened by anybody, regardless of whether the threat is concealed in the most beautiful words and slogans. This is our revolutionary, national, class, and international duty."

The decisive guarantee that we will continue honorably fulfilling this commitment lies in the firm ideological, organizational, and act on unity of our party and the intensification of its leading role in the life of the entire society. The inseparable condition for this is the consistent implementation of democratic centralism, the development of intraparty democracy and of principled criticism and self-criticism. The experience of the critical years is a lasting warning of where the violations of any and all of these principles and norms can lead.

The other reliable pillar on which we base all our certainties and resolutions is our close alliance and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. We are advocates of a comprehensive coordinated policy, so as to multiply our strength and the efficacy of our ideas. Let each of us do everything possible to make full use of the extremely valuable impulses provided by the CPSU documents that are being prepared for the 27th Congress both in the deliberations of all communists in the coming period, which will culminate in the 17th CPCZ Congress, and in the struggle for fulfilling the tasks of the further development of our socialist society.

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FOJTIK SPEAKS ON PARTY IDEOLOGY

AU310500 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 1//986, signed to press
29 Nov pp 17-42

["Full text" of speech by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary, at the national theoretical-practical conference with international attendance on the 15th anniversary of the adoption of the 'Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress,' on 9-10 December 1985 at the CPCZ Central Committee's Higher Political Academy in Prague: *"Basis of the Party's Principled and Creative Policy"*---words between slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The "Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" is undoubtedly one of the most significant documents in the CPCZ's history. Not many documents equal it in theoretical significance and practical impact. A whole period has passed since the adoption of the Lessons at the CPCZ Central Committee session on 11 December 1970. During this period our society has traversed a considerable part of the way in building developed socialism. There have been great changes in the world during this period, too. The tasks we are resolving today differ substantially from those we were facing 15 years ago. But the Lessons remains a living document; and we do not exaggerate when we say that future generations, too, will turn to it for knowledge and succour. He who would like it to be covered by the dust of the archives will just be disappointed.

What is the basis of the fact that time has not made the document outdated, that it remains topical and urgent to this very day?

This is undoubtedly due above all to the nature of events from which the Lessons draws conclusions for the work of the party and the socialist state, for the further development of socialism in our country. The document generalizes the experience acquired by the party and the people in the deepest crisis experienced by our society since the revolution, a crisis in which it escaped catastrophe only by a hair's breadth only thanks to the international assistance of fraternal socialist countries. For the most part, the party had to suffer its way to the conclusions that are summed up in the Lessons; through these conclusions it has realized, and realizes even today, the value of socialism, and also what must be done to develop it and safeguard its achievements.

The firmness and strength of convictions and of the foundations of the people's world outlook and character, and the validity of life values which they profess, have all been verified in struggle. A struggle was taking place during the critical period, in which--as became apparent in the end--everything was at stake: the very existence of socialism; and whether the fruit of the work of millions, and the sacrifices made by the best sons and daughters of our peoples for the freedom of our fatherland and the establishment of a more just society, would be wasted or upvalued. The paradox of the times was that the enemies of socialism had to resort to a ruse if they were to carry out their feat of destruction and lead the people astray from the path of socialism: they had to play the role of "revivalist," "reformers," of "improvers" of socialism. And they had to choose their political language accordingly. Socialism was already rather firmly rooted in our society. As a matter of fact, for a long time many people failed to realize that the embrace of counterrevolution can be deadly. In the complicated struggle, which was deliberately camouflaged by the rightwingers, it was not always easy to distinguish friend from foe, to separate wheat from chaff; and real metal from veneer. The disorientation of the public and the manipulation of it were one of the main weapons of rightwingers. The protagonists of "democracy" and "open policy" made all the greater use of it, the more frequently they resorted to machinations of cabinet politics, to backstage intrigue, to organizing pressure groups, to terrorizing the public, to inciting and unleashing chauvinist anti-Soviet waves, and so forth. They perfected and developed the skills of two-faced policy particularly during the period from September 1968 to April 1969.

It was the merit of the Lessons that the mask of rightwing opportunist and antisocialist forces was torn off, and their true features and real intentions and practices revealed. The mirror which the lessons set before the rightwingers was as merciless as truth itself is relentless. The Lessons gave back their original and proper meaning to the basic ideas without which one cannot orient oneself in the life of the society; and freed truth from the layers of lies which the revisionists and their publicist lackeys had been accumulating for years in order to harm the good name of socialism in our country and in the world. But the Lessons did not stop here. It subjected to uncompromising criticism also the errors and mistaken steps of those honest party members and citizens devoted to socialism who had succumbed to the rightwingers' demagoguery. The document tellingly showed what a great danger to socialism lies in a retreat from the revolutionary doctrine of the workers class, of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; and where indifference to its principles, kow-towing to bourgeois ideology, or succumbing to its various streams and concepts can lead.

The Lessons played a significant role in the unification of the party--cleansed of the rightwing opportunists and of passive, formal members--at the political platform of the CPCZ Central Committee's sessions in April and May 1969. The document helped orient and speed up the normalization of the party's and society's life and the process of consolidation; rectify in a relatively short time the damage caused by the counterrevolution, revive the Marxist-Leninist character of the party as the true political vanguard of the workers class and the working people, and open the field for the full implementation of the values of socialism in our society.

The Lessons was able to play this constructive and creative role because it proceeded from a principled analysis of the counterrevolutions' activity and simultaneously from a comprehensive analysis of the party's policy and of society's development during the sixties; because it was not satisfied with describing and characterizing the forming of the bloc of opportunists and antisocialist elements, but revealed the background and fertile medium from which the critical situation gradually emerged and grew. The identification of the substantial connections between the internal and external conditions of the onslaught of counterrevolutionary forces in our country at that time, of the inability of the party leadership of that time to grasp these connections and the dangers connected with them or to ward off this onslaught by an appropriate policy in economy, in the social sphere, and in the field of ideology, this identification provides a clear and unambiguous reply to the basic question which we have no right to forget, either today or in the future. Because it concerns our long-term prospects, the decisive conditions of a successful solution of the problems of our further socialist construction, the development of all social spheres, the realization of those programmatic ideas which give purpose to the existence of the communist party and the entire communist movement--the most humane and most progressive movement ever known in history.

The question is, just how much the party as a whole, and its leading officials in particular, realize their responsibility to the people of their country, to the international workers class, to the world socialist community, and to the revolutionary and progressive forces; and to what extent they are acting accordingly. Understandably, this responsibility has its specific weight in the society in which the party is implementing its leading role in the mechanism of state power. The responsibility increases steeply in a situation in which the political opposition, which can moreover rely on an increasingly efficient support of the international reaction, starts to arise in consequence of the difficulties which can grow from serious mistakes in implementing this party's role. For a certain time, every socialist country necessarily has latent hostile forces which are longing for revenge, and which imperialism logically strives to make use of for a global anticommunist "crusade" and for a general revanche for the revolutionary and progressive changes that have taken place in the world since the Great October Socialist Revolution. As a rule, there is no chance which our adversaries would not utilize. It is this permanent threat on the part of the interlinked international and domestic reaction which must urge everybody to high revolutionary vigilance, which must spur everybody not to neglect it in any way. However, the main thing is to expand and deepen the contact with the broad people's strata and to unify them for creative activity, based on purposeful, conceptually well-thought-out, and principled policy of the party.

The pre-January party leadership did appeal for vigilance; but essentially it did not go beyond mere words. Its weakness and helplessness, covered by half-baked administrative interventions, its pragmatism which stood in sharp contrast to the declared principles--which were doomed to remain mere phrases, as cannot be otherwise in such instances--merely stimulated the rightwing opportunities and antisocialist elements to become bolder and freed the way for their destructive operations. As shown by the Lessons, in January 1968 the CPCZ

Central Committee plenum reacted in the correct manner to the need to eliminate shortcomings in the party's activity, which deprived it of the people's confidence and support. However, even at that congress a rightwing revisionist group was formed against the forces which proceeded from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, relied on the resolutions of the 13th Congress, and defended the need for continuity with the revolutionary past--against those who were honestly endeavoring to find a way out of the complicated situation and to resolve the [word indistinct] issues; the rightwing revisionist group strove to achieve a revision of the party's general line under cover of a rectification of mistakes. As was confirmed by the course of events, the group aimed at disrupting the political structure of society and at changing the CSSR's foreign orientation. Because of its heterogeneity, disunity, and weakness, the post-January party leadership was incapable of realizing the conclusions of the January plenum. First of all, it would have had to stand up most resolutely against the above group. On the other hand, the group was able to act more and more aggressively; it won one position after another, and it developed "a purposeful attack against all basic values and norms of socialism" and "systematically tried to make the party and the entire political socialist system disintegrate."

In this way the people's initiative and the hopes that the January plenum had evoked were wasted, and even abused by the rightwing forces. Herein lies the tragedy of the post-January development, for which full responsibility is borne by the rightwingers in the party leadership. As noted by the Lessons, "the broadly based onslaught was made easy by the fact that a dubcek--who was initially trusted by the party and the country--gradually began to withdraw from Marxist-Leninist position and to get in the two of the rightwing opportunist and antisocialist forces, until he finally became their symbol."

The former first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee was able to become the symbol of the counterrevolution only because he passively and helplessly looked on, while anarchy was growing in society and while the seemingly elemental stream of events was weakening the leading position of the workers class and its vanguard, the communist party, of which he was the most responsible figure; while the mechanism of state power disintegrated and the erosion of socialist awareness progressed, while the sallies against the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and against alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union multiplied and exacerbated. He justly became this unfortunate symbol because of the general attitude he maintained in an absolutely purposeful manner toward the political battle of that time. He persistently ignored the duty to mobilize the party and the people for a selfless struggle for the further development of socialism and for its consolidation, and he prevented the unmasking and discrediting of revisionist and anti-socialist elements. Whether consciously or not, he supported those who were creating an atmosphere of pressure and fear and, on the pretext of fighting "conservatism," eliminating cadres devoted to the party and socialism. In fact, he kept a second iron in the fire from the very beginning; and in the end he staked his all on it. Actually, he was not the only one to do so.

Usually one keeps silent about such inqualified subjective motivation of the opportunist political platform, or else one tactfully circumvents it. However,

the nature of the post-January development has imbued this subjective aspect with a special, and far from secondary, significance. If we want to fully understand the events of those times, we cannot fail to take account of it. The so-called men of January, those who sensed an opportunity for satisfying their ambitions, were in fact concerned with distracting attention from the danger from the right and with foisting on the public the nation about a threat from "conservatists" (the well-known affair of General Sejna was of particular service here). The witch hunt they unleashed (which later found expression in the instruction to prepare the internment of "most exposed conservativists") was, of course, not merely a matter of settling personal accounts; it was also a specific realization of the counterrevolutionary political line of the right wing. The prerequisite of an "anti-February"--and this slogan was voiced immediately after the January plenum--was "to call to responsibility" not only those who had been guilty of violating the law, but also all those who had contributed to the victory of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia and who were not willing to do public penance and renounce the revolutionary past, portrayed by the rightwingers as one of the "darkest periods" in our history.

Renegadism is a term from the political dictionary. One becomes a renegade when one becomes alienated from one's class, betrays one's party, and prepares to desert to the other side of the barricade. Like any treason, renegadism is always condemned; usually the renegades' reward is merely contempt. Not wanting to lose the opportunity of carrying out public activities, the right wing, had to carefully camouflage the amorality of its perfidy. We were able to witness that virtue did not just consist of necessity alone. Our rightwingers decided to present their betrayal as an expression of high morality, as the manifestation of the highest courage and devotion to socialism--but of course, to socialism in its "new" and "authentic" meaning. They declared themselves fighters for "progress"; and they called everybody whom they did not like, or who opposed their attempts to deform the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and to replace them by revisionist fabrications which were mostly quite mechanically taken over from outside, an enemy of progress, a hopelessly backward person, the defender and adherent of fossilized notions outdated by life, and--this was particularly impressive--of bureaucracy.

I have already said that our adversary knows how to make use of his opportunity. In this instance, too, it was not difficult for the enemies of socialism to adopt the stand of its boldest adherents. They were aided in this by the way the pre-January party leadership coped with the issues that cropped up after the criticism of so-called personality cult. Both the party and the broader public justly felt that many of these issues--particularly the implementation and functioning of the power mechanism, the management of the national economy and state, and also guarantees that the various misfeasances would not be repeated--have been resolved inconsistently. This was grist to the mill of the reaction; this past, essentially defensive, policy provided it with the opportunity to raise the banner of the January plenum to start to thwart its conclusions. The months of chaos that followed cast the country back and showed that the rightwingers do not intend to go forward, that they were not concerned with developing socialism and consolidating it in our country or with increasing its prestige in the world, but that they were mainly interested in establishing social structures that would deprive the workers class and the people's masses of the achievements of socialism and incorporate our society

in the sphere of capitalism. The rightwing representatives could conceal this main intention as much as they liked, in the end their deeds exposed them. In fact, the laudatory patting on the back handed out to them by the West was sufficiently eloquent even at that time.

It was only the CPCZ Central Committee plenum in April 1969 which established conditions for resolving the issues, the neglect of which had provoked a deep crisis in our country. The April plenum, which elected Comrade Gustav Husak to the highest function in the party, initiated the development that followed up the line of the party's revolutionary activity. This development not only crossed the plans of the reaction, which strove to prevent the normalization of the situation at any price and to preserve for itself the hope that socialism would disintegrate; it also gradually helped realize the pivotal ideas of the Leninist strategy of socialist construction, freed of the deformations of rightwing opportunism and dogmatism. The Lessons substantially contributed to this healthy and necessary development, based on Leninist, principled policy which consistently proceeds from the creative theory of Marxism-Leninism and which pursues the basic interests of the workers class, of the people, and which sees its highest mission in serving the working man.

Currently the CPCZ is preparing for its 17th Congress. The stocktaking which it is carrying out shows that it took the right road after April 1969 and that it has neither deviated from it, nor left this correct, Leninist direction that is elaborated for each 5-year period at the party congresses. As is known, this is true not because our society has not been threatened by any danger in the past 15 years; not because the development we have undergone has been free of problems and difficulties; and not because we have avoided making any mistakes. The successful progress, manifested in the growth of our society's economic and spiritual potential, in the achievement of a better standard of living for the people, and in our strengthened position in the socialist community and in the international forum in general, is based on the fact that "the lasting and immutable values of socialism," as the Lessons sums up, have become a firm and untouchable base of the party's political strategy and its principled policy. The revolutionary continuity of our policy is based on these values; and we proceed from them in resolving the problems posed by life and by the need for constant progress and continuous development in all spheres of our society's life.

These lasting and immutable values of socialism, which are listed in the Lessons include the following:

- the leading position of the workers class and its political vanguard, the Communist Party;
- the role of the socialist state as the instrument of the power of the workers class and the working people;
- socialist social ownership and the corresponding system of national economic management, based on the principle of democratic centralism;

--Marxist-Leninist ideology and its implementation by means of all the instruments of mass media; and

--the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and their consistent implementation in foreign policy, particularly in our relationship with the Soviet Union.

To proceed from these binding values, to strictly respect them, and not to permit doubt to be cast on them or any violations of them--this is the primary duty of the party. According to the way the party fulfills this duty, one can judge the principled and consistent nature of its policy and assess its loyalty to the goals which it proclaims and of its historic mission, and also the responsibility it feels toward the workers class, toward the people.

We have heard time and again that warnings against revisionism and various ideological deformations which affect the political and theoretical foundations of the party's policy can be harmful exhortations which erect a barrier against bold and creative thinking. Loyalty to the principles of our policy is sometimes even qualified as a "dogmatic" or "conservative" attitude. These chaotic arguments revert to an old and outdated dispute which has long since ceased to apply to our reality. The level of development gained by our society during the last 15 years presents the question in a completely different way: how should one combine, as organically as possible, loyalty to the principles of our revolutionary doctrine--on which no doubt must be cast if the prospect of socialism is not to be endangered--with the real, not merely declarative, creative search and discovery of adequate answers to the problems of the further comprehensive development of our society, particularly its economy and the modernization and increased efficiency of its material-capital assets base.

At one time the counterrevolution explained the reasons for its onslaught by the essential need to remove all barriers to "creative thinking," among which it naturally included first of all the Leninist principles of the revolutionary transformation of society. This manifested the absolutely reactionary nature of the rightwingers, their hypocrisy, the basic manipulative element of their policy. Actually, this really corresponded to the specific nature of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia.

To this day its peculiarities are for some people a hindrance to comprehending its essence; to this day many people are unable to imagine counterrevolution in any way other than as a bloody, uncontrolled raging of reaction. The brutality with which counterrevolution as a rule unleashes terror is, without doubt, the most distinct aspect of its activity. This, however, is only the external and accidental aspect. The existence of counterrevolution is determined mainly by its essence, and this is the disruption of the foundations of socialism to which inseparably belong its political and ideological values, including the principles of revolutionary theory. The most typical feature of the Czechoslovak counterrevolution of the end of the sixties was, without doubt, its stealthy nature, the endeavor to arrive at its objective with a minimum of risk, through the unguarded back door, absolutely unnoticed, covertly. In this connection one could philosophize about our "national

character," which some equate with petty bourgeois carefulness, scheming; with the wish always to come to a sure thing without much effort and without sacrifices. However, let us not forget what one of the spiritual inspirers of the antisocialistic forces, Professor Vaclav Cerny, unintentionally disclosed: The scum of the political underground was already prepared and looked forward to lamp posts with communists [hanging from them]! The "200 Words" pamphlet was a direct appeal to begin repressions. Of course, the determining aspect of the particular nature of counterrevolution in our country was the fact that its organizers could not lean on any uncontrolled explosion of mass dissatisfaction, the reason for which is want. They did not have any Kronstadt of ours at hand. The majority of them was sitting pretty, but of course they thought that they did not have enough, that they were "unappreciated," and the positions of power which they held they regarded to be precisely the most suitable springboard for getting higher and in a position to attack socialism. The demand for the "pluralization" of the political system fully corresponded to their notion of further development, which on its own was to force the escalation of further changes. True, many of them, as it was, were afraid of changes, but because they lost faith in the cause of the workers class they tried at any price to demonstrate their agreement with "everything new." And so as not to be suspect of insincerity, they started vying to outdo one another in radicalism.

These peculiar circumstances, under which the counterrevolution in our country was being prepared and took place, determined also the role of the /ideological sphere/, especially of /theoretical/ thinking, the /mass information media/, and the /cultural-artistic/ institutions.

The process of destruction originated in the ideological sphere. In it was born, if one can express it that way, the "projects" of that process. In it was realized in an "ideal form" what later practice was to conclude and which, with this or that deviation, was also realized in practice. With the passing of time that has elapsed since the ideological disputes which started developing at the end of the fifties, this was particularly obvious. Of course, the critical discussions were elicited by the need to reassess from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and in the interest of the further development of socialism quite a few matters from the party's and state's past activity, matters which were subservient to the so-called cult of personality--a matter which did not concern Czechoslovakia alone, as it is known. To our rightwingers it was clear from the beginning that they must avoid the fate met by revisionists in the Hungarian People's Republic; getting into league with clearly reactionary antisocialist forces would not have been favorable for them. Obviously this circumstance also had an influence on the further development of their activities, but we know that in the end they did not avoid that connection anyway. But they made use of a fairly long period--practically a whole decade--to work out their revisionist concept into a homogenous--though full of contradictions--platform of so-called democratic socialism, of "socialism with a human face," the Czechoslovak "model" of socialism whose fundamental idea to a considerable extent infiltrated society, especially the intelligentsia on which it particularly concentrated (in harmony with the notions that "modern times," the period of scientific-technological revolution, elevates the intelligentsia as a leading social force, which to it was to be one of the main proofs of the obsolescence of "classical Marxism").

Let us try to summarize, at least concisely, what constituted the ideology of our revisionists, what actually inspired so much our rightwingers to an attack on the foundations of socialism.

Let us begin with philosophical concepts. In this way we will remain true to chronology and at the same time we can show right at the beginning the general foundations of the theoretical thinking of revisionists, pursuing, as it was so tellingly depicted by Z. Brzezinski at the end of the fifties, the "ideological erosion" of social consciousness. The brevity to which we are forced, forces us, of course, to a certain simplification--from which, on the other hand, can especially stand out what was most important in the revisionists' views.

What, then was most characteristic of /philosophical revisionism/? It was, above all, the effort to discredit the revolutionary ideology of the workers class, to cast doubt on the very justification of its existence and the role it has in the implementation of the historical mission of the communist party, in the implementation of its leading role in socialist society. The criticism of so-called Stalinism, of "Stalinist dogmatism," was for revisionists only a pretext for an attack on the Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung, dialectical and historical materialism, and, in particular, on the "algebra of revolution" on materialistic dialectics, which revisionists of all stripes were always substituting for with sophistry and eclecticism, with heaps of various "methodological approaches." The degradation of the revolutionary role of the workers class was for the rightwingers the necessary preliminary stage for a frontal criticism of the entire social system of socialism, especially the party's role in it. In this criticism they saw the prerequisite for the elimination of the "party's power monopoly," destruction of "communist totalitarianism." The counterrevolution germinated precisely from this idea, and one has to say that protagonists of philosophical revisionism were well aware of that and chose the tactics and the manner of expression accordingly.

They were proceeding in two basic directions, seemingly contradictory, but pursuing a common objective, as I characterized it above.

On the one hand, they attacked "ideology" as a collection of fetishes and myths, a "false conscience" of society. They matched science against ideology. By this they defined the truth as the product of theoretical thinking, stripped of any influences of social conditions, independent of class struggles, above the party, something like distilled water without the slightest impurities. It was an antihistorical scheme, a fruit of a downright intellectual doctrinairiness, in the background of which there was for a "creative personality" the quite unacceptable idea of service to the workers class, to the cause of revolution, with which the working man frees himself from the oppression of capital. We witnessed then how, on the basis of this doctrine, they were disseminating various treatises on the necessity to destroy "naive consciousness," "everyday and commonplace consciousness," and "noncritical consciousness" all the way to "everyday fetishized reality." Marxism-Leninism was pillorized like some sort of religious belief, codex of dogmas, which is submitted to belief, and the party as an organization raping everyone by its discipline, not tolerating anyone "not toeing the line."

Another main direction was the criticism of so-called scientism. Revisionists proclaimed that with the fall of Stalinism began the age of science. At the same time, however, they accused "classical Marxism" of scientism, positivism; and for this alleged grave sin they particularly had it in for Engels. Their perception of science was, as a matter of fact, very characteristic. When eliminating "fetishes" and "myths," they discovered that one of the sources of "dogmatic thinking" is admitting objective laws of the development of reality, casual contexts [pricinne souvislosti] of objective reality. It seemed to them that this reduces the "unpredictable role" of the subject, that "critically thinking personality," having the particular gift of unfal-
lible conscience and intuitions, a matter which, understandably, they had to regard at least as an offense against man.

There is no doubt that there were rational reasons for criticizing dogmatism, passing off the basic precepts of Marxism-Leninism as the absolute truth, to the concrete application of which in the historical process one can be indif-
ferent. Their position also had tendencies to reduce the role of the subject to a passive product of social conditions, mechanically determining human ac-
tivity. Out of the denormations of the creative theory of Marxism-Leninism stemmed also grave errors that had to be rectified. However, revisionism constituted a path leading from mud into a puddle--a deep one at that. V. I. Lenin more than once noted that revisionism is not only an attempt at infil-
trating the workers' movement with bourgeois and petty bourgeois views, but that it also has its gnoseological roots. To them belong absolutization, hyperbolization of individual phenomena, certain realities; in other words, noncomprehension of materialist dialectics, insufficient appreciation of it, the inability to assimilate it. And really, revisionist vulgarisms, no matter how beautiful and colorful the garment they put on, always operate with iso-
lated facts or a number of them, regardless of time and place, of the specifi-
cally historical conditions of their existence and development. The truth is always concrete--revisionists never comprehended this well-known observa-
tion by Lenin; their "scientific" method remains that of superficially compar-
ing and constructing Analogies. An abstract way of thinking in contradictory schemes breeds, as a rule, moralizing and radicalism as regards notions about what should be and what must not be.

Revisionists, of course, were knowingly making use of that. It is enough to recall the Kafkaesque anniversary in 1963: what hullabaloo, then also with international participation, they drummed up around Franz Kafka's 80th birth-
day, which he did not live to see--a German-writing writer originating from a Prague Jewish family. That really was a classical example of the antihistor-
ical, abstractly doctrinaire, and moralizing manner in which the work of the writer can be interpreted. Even the well-known existentialist philosopher J. P. Sartre had to note then that it is incorrect and historically unjustifi-
able to misuse Kafka's work, brought to life by specific conditions, against the socialist state. Describing feelings of a "critically thinking" dividuum, believing that he is being raped by the very existence of social institutions, and to generalize those feelings as a part of general estrange-
ment, uprootedness, absurdity of existence, depressions in the face of the "state's authority," "supraindividual might," meant nothing else but philoso-
phizing from the positions of defeated reaction, of those who were chased out

of the political scene by a national, democratic, and later by the socialist revolution and who must have really felt like they were in a "strange house" in the postrevolutionary conditions, in the new social situation. The radical criticism of the so-called personality cult was misused by the spokesmen of the society, which was stripped of its former power and social privileges and thus also of its gloss from which, as an elevated class or stratum, it was profiting, and with its political disqualification being regarded as a wrong, as an undemocratic and inhuman act, and its dissatisfaction being accepted as a generally valid emotion. That, actually, was the first criticism of Victorious February and social changes it brought. Due to its concealed nature it did not permit for a long time any differentiation between those who, by exposing shortcomings, were striving for their elimination and strengthening socialism and those interested in discrediting party policy.

Revisionists tried to create a theoretical rear of "ideological erosion" also in other disciplines of social science.

Thus many /historians/, even in party institutions, began with great enthusiasm to besmirch the revolutionary posts of our nation. They were systematic in this and called this activity of theirs "reassessment of values." What the party accomplished in the complex and sharp ideological struggle in the preceding period, especially between 1945-48, was to disappear now. Revisionists depicted the history of the CPCZ as a chain of errors. The fifth CPCZ Congress, when Klement Gottwald was elected to the head of the party, was particularly a thorn in their flesh. They were passing off the party's bolshevization, that is, its Leninization, almost as a tragedy for our further development, although it is quite evident that without the process of bolshevization our party would not have been able to implement its mission, to lead our people to the victory of socialism. They also attacked the komintern, the 1950's in our country, and the 1930's in the USSR. These were sweeping [pausalni] attacks, whose purpose was to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the socialist changes and the role of the communist party in them.

The "innovations" of revisionists in historical science and the "audacity" of their "creative thinking" had to, obviously, manifest themselves in the fervor with which they began reviving myths and legends spread at one time by bourgeois historiography about the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic and the era of the pre-Munich Republic in general, about its political and spiritual representatives. It might seem that their nonclass attitude, which in no way prevented them from passing themselves off as "Marxist historians," was the expression of their dullard nationalism, that they were committed to the effort to construct some sort of "national model" of socialism. However, there was something more to it, to the essence of their attitude: In addition to their desire to deny the communist party its historically fought for right to the political leadership of society, to deny the historical continuity of socialist revolution with the main development trend of the history of our nations, they were interested in proving that we belonged to the West, actually predetermined by history itself. Right from the beginning there was in it the thorn of anti-Sovietism and a cosmopolitan orientation. After all, the question was formulated as a problem of our national existence in the "global context," saying that it is necessary to reassess our foreign-political orientation.

Only in that way, allegedly, could we "again"(!) gain "world appeal," overcome our alleged "provincialism." In the second half of the 1960's, various periodicals were full of similar contemplations, zealously followed in the West.

The writers' congress in June 1967 presented this problem in a combative, politically explicit form. At that time the "intellectual elite" was already going over to an overt attack. It no longer claimed the "righting of an error" (a matter, in view of its lack of tolerance--which was only hypocrisy, of course). Full of self-confidence it wanted to call the party to account for the entire period of socialist construction.

It was perhaps on no other issue that our revisionists were so much in agreement with the enemies of socialist Czechoslovakia. No wonder that by this they demonstrated where they belonged. And the present casts on that stance of theirs a particularly sharp light. The "liberation of the people of Eastern Europe" which, as a rule, each new American president proclaims in his inauguration speech and for which these exist dozens of ideodiversionary and espionage institutions in the West, is every increasingly less thinkable as the result of a war encounter. The hopes of those clinging to this program are focused on such a future "unification of Europe," which will incorporate in a peaceful manner the people of the socialist states, including the people of Czechoslovakia, in a "Western Commonwealth." This is the idea of F. J. Strauss or John Paul II, as well as of many social democrats and liberals in the West. Also, revanchists are getting used to it, people who, understandably, have their own plans for it. What they very much like is when former proponents of "democratic socialism" in Czechoslovakia openly condemn the expulsion of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia and make the future "reconciliation" within the "framework of the European Commonwealth" conditional on the rectification of this alleged wrong.

The party sees in history an inexhaustible source of material for an upbringing in socialist patriotism and respect for nations of other countries. By educating through history, the party reinforces, especially in the young generation, the pride in the revolutionary and progressive struggles of popular masses in the past, which they waged for national and social freedom; in the socialist epoch which constitutes the brightest and most important period of our modern history. By their attacking that period, revisionists and rightist opportunists exposed themselves as people to whom the interests of the people and their ideals are alien, no matter how hard--precisely with phrases about these ideals--they tried to worm their way into their confidence and lead them astray from the path which, through the socialist revolution, they embarked upon. Just to illustrate the ideological position of the rightists, truly quiet alien to our people: They proclaimed 1963 the year of Franz Kafka, and then they dared with contempt to ignore the fact that 1963 was more of an anniversary year for Julius Fucik or Karl Marx. These are concrete facts that sometimes say more about reality than extensive sociological studies.

As is known, the main question of the revolution is the question of power. It is understandable why our revisionists were paying extraordinary attention to this question. The "Lessons" graphically show the course of action taken by the rightists to rid our /political system/ of stability and the ability to

unite the working people for creative activity and the implementation of the program of building socialism; they show the manner in which the rightists were disintegrating the party to eliminate it from decisions on key questions concerning society's development, especially the development of the economic base; and they show all that its exponents were doing to paralyze the activity of state and managerial economic agencies and to pave the way for anarchy. Here, too, the rightwing relied on its own ideologists, sociologists, political, scientists, theorists of the state and law, and so forth. Here, too, it needed apologists to supply it with basic arguments that would at least outwardly make its disruptive activity assume the semblance of a "struggle for improving the political system of socialism" and for "democratization."

However, because of the great importance of this area, the revisionists took great pains to camouflage the goal they were pursuing in it. They were assisted in this by the fact that--due to the lack of authority of A. Novotny and the entire party leadership of that time and serious mistakes in applying the party's leading role, which were manifested, above all, in direct interference in the powers of legitimate managerial agencies and in administrative approaches--voices demanding more democracy and a greater scope for people's initiative were growing in strength and in numbers. The situation was developing in such a way that in the second half of the sixties the issues of "democratization" became the most important issue; for a steadily growing number of people it appeared to be the key to the solution of all problems in society at large.

Of course, one can scarcely reproach the rightwing for having tried to seize the initiative and deal with the issue of the development of democracy in its own way. One could say that even here, and precisely here, it was taking full advantage of the vacuum that arose. It exploited this vacuum at variance with the conclusions of the 13th CPCZ Congress just as, later on, against the spirit of the January [1968] plenum. The political system of socialism must always discharge at least two main functions. On the one hand, it must permit the development of the working people's activity and initiative and create for this development the most favorable conditions within the existing specific historical possibilities, so that the power of the workers class and the working people can be implemented increasingly fully not only through elected representatives and executive apparatuses that are under their control, but also directly, in various forms of self-administration, the importance of which increases in a law-governed manner, parallel with the socialist society's development. On the other hand, this system must unite society on the platform of a program, the political line of which respects the leading position of the workers class in society. The organized nature of the socialist society, its socialist order ensuring the general validity of laws and norms that are intrinsic to this society, and the authority of the socialist state--these are key categories of the political system of socialism, categories which must be respected if democracy in the socialist society is not to be merely a formal affair.

The rightwing was concerned neither with the development of the working people's initiative, nor with strengthening order in society, nor with uniting society on the basis of the party's policy proceeding in its strategy from Marxism-Leninism. If it did raise the question of people's activity, it was only to pit this activity against democratic centralism, which is the fundamental

principle of the political system of socialism. And it was precisely here that it finally exposed itself: All the talk of its ideologists to the effect that it is high time to "create our own political system," accompanied by boasting that "no one has to learn to be a communist because even the Hussites had been communists" (P. Kohout), served only to cover up a long-planned attack aimed at liquidating the political system in which the workers class holds the decisive position, corresponding to its role in society, and which--although with shortcomings and imperfectly (I am thinking of the quality of central management, the standard of planning, and the like)--unites and multiplies society's forces and concentrates its resources on the solution of the key tasks of its development.

In this question, just as in other questions, too the aforementioned abstract-dogmatic and ahistorical mode of thinking that is typical of revisionists became woefully evident. It found its expression in schematic comparisons between the model of a democratic system, a model made up of confused petit bourgeois notions of pure democracy, and the reality which they criticized, a reality in which they deliberately ignored its positive aspects and exaggerated the negative ones. This was, incidentally, the oasis of the rightists' demagoguery. Presenting themselves as the messiah, they were promising that once they had full power, they would make people happy with their model, which they would easily introduce once they did away with the party's "power monopoly" and restored "political pluralism," with the leaders of KAN [Club of Committed Non-Party People] and K-231 [Organization of Former Political Prisoners, named after the paragraph of the Penal Code on the basis of which they were sentenced], with politicking members of the clergy, with returned political emigres, and the like.

The rightwing's demagoguery also showed itself in the manner in which it was pitting against each other the general principles of the political system of socialism that are crucial for the socialist nature of the entire power mechanism and its specific forms. It is clear to everyone who has mastered the elementary foundations of dialectics that the inception and formation of the political system of socialism in any country inevitably depends on the specific conditions of that country. General ideas and principles do not exist outside of time and realm, outside historical reality. He who would dare ignore this reality would not only fail politically, but no one would take him seriously. The question can only be raised in the following way: Are the two, mutually interlinked and inseparable aspects of the matter appreciated; is there full respect for that which is fundamental and generally valid and for that which determines the most suitable form commensurate with the specific unique features and conditions of the existence and development of the political system in the country concerned? There is no doubt that mistakes do occur in practical life in this respect and that these mistakes must be uncovered and set right. However, just as there exist absolutely essential general features of bourgeois democracy and of the political system that ensures power for the bourgeoisie and its leading role in society regardless of the form in which this role becomes manifest in one capitalist country or another, there also exist generally valid features of the political system of socialism, the removal of which inevitably means the negation of this system, no matter how emphatically one refers to specific national conditions and traditions in covering up this removal. He who accuses, for example, our party and our people

of having taken over the "Soviet model" because we carried out the socialist revolution and rebuilding of society in keeping with the Leninist teaching on revolution and building socialism, making use of the experiences acquired by the CPSU and the Soviet people, shows that he either does not understand the matter and does not know what he is talking about or, which appears to be the case more frequently, that he deliberately distorts historical reality. Socialism as a social system is, generally speaking, a precisely defined social order that cannot be confused with any other system. However, the forms of its implementation and the specific ways of building it are always unique and cannot be repeated. A different question is, of course, how the general laws of building socialism are applied in one country or another under certain historical conditions. Only this can be the subject of businesslike discussion.

Precisely therein was the Leninist skill of Klement Gottwald. He used as his point of departure our conditions, and it was in accordance with them that he formulated the party's strategy and tactics in the difficult times of our people's struggles in the national and democratic revolution and, later on, in the socialist revolution. It is this legacy that we build on today, realizing that a creative approach to the solution of present tasks can only yield fruit if it relies on generalized experiences--our own experiences, as well as those of the fraternal parties, especially the most experienced of them, the CPSU.

The National Front has become a historically tested form of the political system in our country. It is a political expression of the class alliance of the working people from towns and rural areas and of Czechs, Slovaks, and all ethnic minorities inhabiting our country as their common homeland. The leading political force of the National Front is the Communist Party, which reflects the fact that the workers class is the hegemon of the alliance of the working people. The unity of the people, of our nations and ethnic minorities, is founded on the joint ownership of production assets, which permits the plan-based management of the national economy in the interest of the people and for their well-being. The firmness of this unity is also founded on the united political program proceeding from the ideas of socialism and from the ethics of relations among people that correspond to these ideas.

Bourgeois politicians like to brag about what they call the pluralism of their political systems. This is also the edge of the criticism which they aim at us. This criticism has in the last few years grown into a broad-based and noisy campaign in which, together with other socialist states, [words indistinct] the human rights and liberties of our citizens. We respond by telling them to mind their own business. This is, in fact, the well-known case of the thief screaming "catch the thief." This campaign, too, which has become part of the long-term psychological warfare being waged by the reactionary forces of imperialism against our countries and which has its ebbs and flows according to what the barometer of the international situation shows, is a form of pressure and blackmail, an expression of the endeavor to open the way for the disruption of our social system, for backing away from the embarked upon path and renouncing the gains of the revolution, to which belong, in the first place, the power of the workers class and the working people, socialist democracy,

and a political structure of society corresponding to the socialist democracy. It is in strengthening and promoting this structure, in deepening socialist democracy, in creating increasingly broader and realistic possibilities for the self-realization of man in society and in work, for his all-round development, that our party sees one of its main obligations, the fulfillment of which, along with the creation of material and cultural resources for the development of society, is in the center of its activity. Also therein, and precisely therein, the party manifests its loyalty to the conclusions of the "Lessons" and to their legacy. One cannot live up to this obligation by playing formal games at democracy, by erecting democratic facades, behind which various forces can assert their own interests at the expense of the people and at variance with their vital needs, in a hidden way and unhampered by any control. That is precisely typical of the so-called bourgeois democracy, which has in our conditions become something utterly anachronistic.

Had they had a chance to fully realize their ideas about the management of the national economy, the rightists would have caused immense damage. What they were able to do in a fairly short time had already revealed on what mixed up and heterogeneous, politically harmful concepts they were leaning. They proved particularly in the sphere of economy, to put it mildly, their total incompetence. And here precisely were the theoreticians of [economic revisionism/, among them the especially ambitious O. Sik, literally passing themselves off as saviors of our economy, about which they had been saying for years that it was a ship with so many holes in it that it must capsize at any moment. The salvage measures which they were offering, and actually forcing upon us, can be expressed very simply: Dismantling central planning through which, allegedly, politics dictate its--what else--inadequate, voluntarist, and subjectivist views to the economy; decentralizing the economic sphere; giving enterprises the chance to go it on their own, taking upon themselves all risks of losses and advantages of profits (if they want foreign currency, let everyone individually earn it); establishing the economic mechanism on the basis of market relations; elevate the law of value to the main spring of economic development. When our revisionist economists were publishing extensive treatises or writing articles and even feuilletons--as, for example, R. Selucky, today a professor at one of the American or Canadian universities and a permanent contributor to Radio Free Europe, zealously did--they were, in essence, always repeating the same theme.

They were also, understandably, amply exploiting the shortcomings of the national economy, the complexities of the problems of economic management, the difficulties we had then, whether of an objective or subjective nature. Therefore there were quite a few people who listened to them and believed their every word, the more so since their self-confidence signalled that they had at their disposal an instrument which would restore our economy's health as soon as they were given a chance to do it, by changes in the power system of course.

What were their mistakes which could almost have become tragic? Certainly not in that they were criticizing tough administrative centralism begetting bureaucratism and often truly subjectivist decisions that yielded considerable losses to our national economy. Also not in that they called for more independence for enterprises to behave like managers [hospodari] and produce with the lowest possible costs items in demand on the market. In this they were in agreement

with all those who were sincerely interested in the development of our socialist economy, and they were not the only ones who strove for it. This criticism was contained in party documents of those times, especially in the resolution on economic reform adopted by the party Central Committee prior to the 13th Congress. Already then, however---and in this a role was obviously played by our revisionists, who at that time had considerable influence in central agencies---the party document lacked measures proposing improvements in central management and planning. That created scope for a possible decentralization about which the rightwingers dreamed, thinking that with the disintegration of the political system, the economic system of socialism would also be weakened.

This diletantism of revisionists in economic issues (and it cannot be called anything but diletantism if we do not want to use a sharper expression) manifested itself above all in two respects: first, in ignoring the relationship between politics and economy in the light of the tasks that had to be resolved at home, in our national economy; second, by haughtily ignoring that relationship in the light of our position in the world as a country which, as the consequence of the revolutionary changes in the postwar period, became a component of the world socialist community.

Of course, one has to immediately note that this incomprehension of the relationship between politics and economy and of the grave errors that arose from this were not the results of some sort of lack of education of our revisionists, even though that also cannot be excluded in some cases, but was the expression of their gradually abandoning the class, Marxist-Leninist positions, as some of them later openly admitted. For example, O. Sik in one of his books he published as an emigree abroad, writes that "approximately in the 1958-1959 period" he began his political rebirth and decided in favor of the "struggle for a fundamental change of the system" (not only economic!). And that he had to choose his tactics accordingly. "I myself," he writes, "and all reformers in their time for years (!) had to proceed very carefully and tactically when we wanted to change anything at all." Another one---also a "reformer"---who concentrated his political work toward a "fundamental change of the system" in work among the creative and artistic intelligentsia, E. Goldstuecker, declared that from the moment he returned from jail and was rehabilitated, he thought of nothing else but how to take revenge.

The idea of revenge also inspired another national economic expert, E. Loebl, who was spreading Sik's views in Slovakia, sometimes almost in a [word indistinct] form. As many people still remember, Loebl devoted much energy to providing that in a modern economy the workers class is actually politically and socially written off, that an era had started in which the intelligentsia must have the main word, that it is high time to put an end to its servant-like status. This person is worth mentioning as a prototype of a renegade: His fate in life was, without doubt, a complex one, and he was also a victim of unlawfulness, but nothing can justify the road on which he got so far as to become one of the most ferocious anticommunist and anti-Soviet instigators, an outright CIA exponent, and, moreover, to crown the irony of history, an ideologist of a reactionary organization whose objective is the restoration of the clerical-fascist Slovak State---the World Congress of Slovaks. Also,

this man was very much insulted in his time when RUDE PRAVO wrote about him that he is no creative Marxist, that his views about the departure of the workers class from the political historical scene have nothing in common with Marxism. He regarded this to be an attack on his honor and an impertinent intimidation and stigmatization.

In the Marxist-Leninist conception, politics is a concentrated expression of the economy and the political system is its superstructure. From this arises its dependency on the economy; it must strictly respect the objective laws of its development, a matter that defines, determines the field of its decision making. Subjectivism and voluntarisms are truly inadmissible; they necessarily crop up in breakdowns in the economic sphere which, if they are not correctly analyzed and eliminated in time, can elicit tension in society, political conflicts, and a crisis situation. No socialist state is immune to that, because this is contingent not only upon the implementation of a certain system of management, but also upon the standard and the political and professional maturity of cadres. Precisely with the socialist revolution in which power is being transferred from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its helpers into the hands of the workers class and its political representatives, politics acquires a qualitatively higher significance. With the socialization of the production means, the socialist state as an instrument of the workers class power becomes the main subject of the management of society. The role of the socialist state here is irreplaceable and the nature of its activity is determined by the manner in which the party, as a political vanguard of the working people, implements its leading role, how it leads society politically, how it elaborates its program, strategy, and tactics to achieve the objectives determined by that program. It is obvious that in this activity it cannot lean on limited little groups of people, on bureaucratic apparatuses, or managers, but must base its activity on methods that proceed from a principle that is universal, generally valid for all socialist societies, from the principle of democratic centralism.

Lenin, in his polemics with Bukharin about the relationship between the state and trade unions and about the management of the economy, and about democracy, stressed that politics must have priority before the economy and that this idea is a part of the A-B-C of Marxism. And it was precisely about this A-B-C of Marxism that our revisionists knew nothing. Therefore, their prescriptions for a "fundamental change of the system" were unacceptable, and as soon as they had the chance to implement them, the problems in our national economy began to multiply and aggravate. The old, not overcome difficulties were joined by new ones, more serious, more ominous ones: A road was opened leading to the growth of inflation, to increased prices accompanied by speculation and noninsurance of jobs. The social certainties of the working people were imperiled. And although the impact of all measures that were to yield the improvement of the situation was aimed against the workers class, against the working people, the rightists had the cheek to mask their activity with phrases about "workers policy," which had to be evidenced by their proposals for decentralization and setting up "enterprise councils." Their ideas about so-called production democracy were only a mantle for, under the label of "workers policy," taking away from the working people their basic achievements won in socialist construction. The models which they chose for setting

up the "enterprise councils" and for the "production democracy" could have been a warning in itself. This attests to the great swindle which the workers class was to vote on.

The naivety and the lack of seriousness as regards the notions of the economic revisionists is especially obvious in their concepts that concerned our external relations, the assessment of the prospects of our economy, in which they also did not take into account the fact that our future depends on how much the positions of socialism in the world strengthen. They did not orient themselves toward such development. The nonclass attitude to modern day capitalism--at which they were looking almost as if the development of its production base took place on the basis of the premonopoly stage, in an undisturbed, free competition in which there is only the law of supply and demand in effect; as if the state-monopoly capitalism had not come into being; as if there did not exist the hegemony of the omnipotent financial and banking oligarchy with expansive tendencies typical of imperialism--also strongly influenced their notions about an ideal "model" of the economic mechanism of socialism. From this also stemmed their willingness to accept the social democratic theory of the convergence of the two economic systems, of course with the first step of the convergence having to be taken in reality only by us. Thus they were strengthening the conviction of many people about the fact that if we were to achieve progress in the economy, we must actually return to the incentives of work performance valid in capitalism, and in accordance with that to motivate man's activity, his interests.

It was resignation not only to the previous methods of the socialist economy's management, but also to one of the primary duties of the party and the socialist state--to molding the system of the new man's needs, a rational way of life corresponding to the values of socialism. It was a loss of faith in the possibility of realizing that key task of socialist revolution, if we understand by it not only basic changes in the political and economic spheres, but also in the social and spiritual spheres, changes in the totality in which occurs the molding of a new man, a responsible manager, and an aware, culturally mature citizen capable of administering public affairs.

Those 15 years that have elapsed since the elaboration of the Lessons provided many proofs about the unfounded and aberrant nature of the revisionists' views. Those years then particularly shook up those hopes of theirs for some sort of interlinking of our economy with the economies of the capitalist states, with the hope that Czechoslovakia would, perhaps, initiate a process that might lead to the elimination of the "two systems' ills," that mankind would finally embark on that so much hoped for "third road" proclaimed by theoreticians of social democratism. In the meantime imperialists unleashed an economic war not only against the socialist countries, but also among themselves, and its further course will obviously markedly and with no small risks influence international relations. Our answer, fortunately, is not a theoretical affair. We have embarked upon the path of economic integration and ever deepening cooperation with the states of the socialist community, particularly with the Soviet Union. We also lean on long-term programs, whose core is scientific-technological development and structural changes which will lead to raising the effectiveness and quality of production, to a substantial growth of labor productivity.

We are profoundly convinced that this path will be successful, that we will hold our own in competition with capitalism, that also here will socialism prove its advantages. We base this conviction on a realistic assessment of possibilities, on what we have already achieved in developing this cooperation, but mainly on what we can achieve if we utilize the untapped resources which we have for this cooperation and the activation of which is within the power of our common system.

The rightists, as the Lessons shows, spread their nets far and wide. They also attached great importance to the /sphere of culture and the arts/ for two reasons: first, because they were trying to win for their cause its most prominent representatives and, second, because they knew what an important role culture and the arts play in the man's life, how far-reaching they can influence his ideas about the world, his position in life, moods, and feelings, the psychological atmosphere of society.

The attacks of revisionists against so-called ideologization in cultural and artistic activity did not mean at all that revisionists themselves did not want to exploit this activity for their ideological plans. However, they tried to knock this effective ideological weapon out of the party's hands. As is known, they succeeded to a considerable degree in doing that. That was also the reason why in the process of consolidation (in a complex, for many also a painful, but successful process) they yelled so much (and with them also their proponents and patrons abroad) about the violation of freedoms, gross interventions, harassment, as if all of a sudden, when their capters came to an end, the deluge of the world would occur. A great part of creators [tvurci] comprehended early on what it was all about. These were people who had the development of culture and the arts truly at heart, people who wanted--in harmony with the profoundly democratic tradition deep-rooted in our country as the consequences of the role of culture and the arts in the struggle for national renaissance and freedom, closely connected with the social struggles of the working people--them to serve the working man and enrich his life with genuine values. They realized that they were the subject of undignified manipulation from the side of those who were actually drifting on the periphery of culture and the arts and who in more than one instance not only did not represent anyone, but were puppets fulfilling tasks entrusted to them via various Tigrids and company.

However, also in this sphere the rightists did not work without an appropriate rear, which in this case was very ramified and linked with various institutions abroad. I have mentioned the conference on Kafka already. That was one of the characteristic episodes; it was in its own way a symbolic episode, because it signaled the background. The propaganda whipped up around Kafka's works was to definitely orient our aesthetics toward "modern art," which according to its revisionist interpretation [word indistinct] in contrast to the "tranquil" realistic art (passed off haughtily as an external description of reality and therefore "insufficiently artistic," belonging definitely to the past)--was to elicit the "feeling of existential uncertainty." This corresponded with the philosophy of estrangement, with the assertion by the leftists that the realization of socialism actually deprived everyone of his illusions about socialism. Everything, allegedly, collapsed. Therefore, the

form should also correspond to the relativization of values. "Destruction of naive consciousness," of "pseudoconcreteness"--that was now the task also for artists. How could "some sort of socialist realism," "patriarchal-conservative principle of populism" possibly fulfill this role?

The state of chaos which the revisionists at one time evoked and spread in esthetics is, unfortunately, still reigning in the heads of some of our journalists writing in the cultura-arts columns and of theoreticians paying tribute, for instance, to structuralism. Apparently this is also caused by endeavor not to be considered obsolete or conservative and to support all that is new, for some people see this support in the search for new forms, regardless of what they express, in search for the purpose served by art, even regardless of whether it still is art or not. At a time when various refuse is reaching our society through serious channels under the name of culture or art, when the esthetic perception and grasp of art (and the aspect of the mind is particularly important here, since in rationalizing life one often loses the sense of understanding that things actually serve) is threatened by the commercialized pseudo-artistic products, at this time attention to the development of culture and arts in harmony with the needs of our socialist society and with its /upbringing/ [word between double slantlines published in wide-space] tasks is of extreme importance. Our party is aware of this, and it will act accordingly--here, too, in keeping with the Lessons--even though we must count on our adversaries maliciously presenting our care for the healthy development of culture and arts and for their fulfilling their truly humane mission as a violation of "human rights"; this was again shown at the recent Budapest forum which was convened within the framework of fulfilling the commitments following from the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

One of the most binding and topical conclusions of the Lessons is the generalized experience of the /role and activity of the communications media./

If one must not underrate ideological work in general, then it is particularly harmful to insufficiently appreciate the role of the mass propaganda and information media--the role of the press, radio, and television. It was absolutely no coincidence that, as the Lessons state and document, the ideological struggle in the sixties "grew over," as the critical situation gradually progressed, "into a direct fight for power in which the rightwingers fully involved the communications media."

Neither the political nor the economic system of a socialism can function in a healthy way if the appropriate ideological work--in the sphere of theory, propaganda, and agitation, in the sphere of everyday mass political activity--does not correspond to their activity. Their entire activity has a place in the communications media, which represent a significant source of information that has today become indispensable for man's orientation in the events happening in the society in which he lives and also in the world; likewise, they represent the instrument of the society's democratization, unification, and enlightenment, in the best sense of the word. If the growth of the people's political culture--this term is being increasingly used, and it can only be welcomed because it has a certain deep sense--is one of the important conditions of the overall development of our society and the prerequisite of

enhancing the people's participation in the solution of social issues, regardless of whether they concern the activity of state agencies and social organizations or the national economy, then the role of the communications media, and together with it their responsibility, is and will be growing.

I believe that I can justly state that our party is aware of this fact (which we may formulate as a logical thing) and that it devotes appropriate attention to the activity of the communications media. At the last session of the party's Central Committee, too, Comrade G. Husak reaffirmed this when he said that the mass communications media "represent a significant force which we must make better and more qualified use of, seeking and implementing increasingly effective and inventive forms of influencing the broad public."

The main thing to which we must attend in the communications media is that they should make the policy of the party and state more and more convincingly accessible, so that the people will understand it and identify themselves with its goals; so that they will be willing to implement it in their respective places actively, selflessly, and in the conviction that it is right; and so that they will not be indifferent toward things standing in the way of this policy, which corresponds to the people's interests and to the needs of the society's further development, toward everything threatening this policy. It is only thus that one can unify all honest people who are thinking of the common interests, who are thinking that we should progress in all sectors, multiply our forces, create new values, and enrich and embellish our country. Herein lies the deeply constructive task of the journalists, of the publicists as the close aktiv of the party on which the party is relying in ideological work. For this reason our journalism enjoys full support in the struggle for consolidating the values of socialism, in the principled criticism of all bause which is harming our cause and, time and again, if it is not exposed and rectified, which also discredits our policy and our ideals.

It is thus inappropriate to accuse almost the entire journalistic community of political unreliability when the communications media point out the irresponsibility of certain people, or to become indignant about how dare those editors do this, about things being nearly as bad as in 1968. We do not believe that the deformations of the post-January period could be blamed on the fact that the newspapers, the television, or the radio at that time criticized real abuses and shortcomings; that the deformations could emerge because the press, the radio, and the television wrenched themselves out of the party's management and control, because the rightwingers got hold of them and strove, with their aid, to disintegrate the socialist social system in our country and our fraternal international ties with the people of the USSR and of other socialist countries; because one attacked honest cadres devoted to the party and socialism on the pages of the press, on the screen, and in radio programs; and because the newspapermen were dispatching such stories in order to help rightwingers acquire functions and to make unjustified propaganda for them; in short, because they disoriented our public. Principled criticism, without which we could not progress, without which we would hopelessly lag behind and thus pave the way for new conflicts and tensions, this criticism has nothing in common with the above activities. Those who identify this kind of criticism in our present communications media with the antiparty manners of rightwingers in 1968, act demagogically.

Today everybody can be sure that the party has taken to heart the conclusions of the Lessons on the role and activities of the communications media and that it will strictly hold on to them. Let us recall what the Lessons say in this connection:

"The communist party and the socialist state must control all tools for enforcing their political, class, and ideological goals. The communications media, the press, radio, television, and films, are an enormously important instrument of power and of mass political upbringing, an instrument which must never eschew the management and control of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state if the cause of socialism is not to get into serious danger.

I think that there is no need to comment on these words, that they are absolutely clear. Perhaps one could merely add that the party should keep in the center of its attention both upbringing work and the growth of the journalists' cadres, their political and professional competence and qualification, and also the material-technical base of the communications media which is so rapidly developing in the world.

The Lessons, and we are recalling its 15th anniversary these days, is a document which proves that, after undergoing a serious crisis, our party has found sufficient strength for a self-critical analysis and for a courageous and resolute course so as to rectify the mistakes and overcome the consequences of the crisis. It has thus proved that it is aware of its basic duties toward its own workers class and the people of its country and also toward the international workers class and the communist movement. On the basis of the experience won in that harsh test, after the CPCZ Central Committee's session in April 1969 it took the road of Leninism, the road leading to the revival of the values of socialism, to the consolidation of the social system, and to this further development.

Under the party's leadership, our people are trying out the program of building developed socialism; its further specification, together with a preview up to the year 2000, will be worked out by the 17th CPCZ Congress. As stated by Comrade Gustav Husak in his concluding speech at the CPCZ Central Committee's 16th Session, the congress preparations are underway in a working, favorable atmosphere. "Our party is marching toward its 17th Congress as a strong party, one that is politically, ideologically, and organizationally united, a party with a high action ability and firm ties with the people. It is critically analyzing the achieved results, drawing the correct conclusions and lessons from them, formulating exacting and realistic tasks, and organizing the people's creative forces for their fulfillment. It is proving that it is the motor of the society's movement."

Our successes always were, and will be, founded on the party's ability to creatively implement the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and on loyalty to this doctrine. Marxism-Leninism leads us to a realistic way of thinking and simultaneously to high responsibility to the future; it leads us always to think of tomorrow and not to lose sight of our goals. And it strengthens in us the conviction about the inexhaustible strength of liberated man. We must never forget that the substance of socialism lies in the people's lives,

creative activity. We must establish conditions for an increasing number of people to adopt a conscious attitude toward the tasks and problems brought by life and to join in the solution of these tasks and problems, regarding them as their closest concern and life task--this must be the first and foremost concern of the party, of its leading agencies, of every functionary and every party organization. The viable and topical nature of the Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress will also be manifested in the way in which we will approach this duty and fulfill it.

We are facing great tasks. But it is their greatness, and the awareness that we must resolve so that our society can further develop in the spirit of the noble ideas of socialism and communism, that are giving us the necessary energy. In our work we are encouraged by the example of the Leninist CPSU, by its bold and creative approach to the basic issues of social development in the USSR, and also by the battles for social progress and peace in the world. We are drawing invaluable incentives from the significant documents adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, particularly the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program. The program document of the Soviet communists generalizes the experience of generations of fighters for progress and socialism; it represents a rich arsenal of Marxist-Leninist ideas and confronts progressive mankind with an attractive picture of socialism and communism. For our own party and our people, too, the project of the new edition of the CPSU Program is a significant inspiration. It is in harmony with our historical experience and it corresponds to our highest longings.

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CSO: 2400/171

POLICE, SECRET SERVICES ANNIVERSARY NOTED

Politburo, Internal Affairs Officers Meet

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] In a few days it will be 41 years since the establishment of the Citizens' Militia [MO] and Security Service [SB]. On the occasion of the coming anniversary, in one of the units of the MO's Warsaw garrison, there was a formal meeting of the PZPR's provincial executive committee with Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR's provincial committee Marian Wozniak with office party members of the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs [SUSW].

During the meeting M. Wozniak thanked SUSW officials for their selfless work in protecting public law and order.

Gdansk Celebrations, Kiszczak Issues Order

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 p 1,2

[Text] On the eve of the coming 41st anniversary of the establishment of the MO and SB, celebrations, concerts and youth rallies are taking place in the entire country, while deserving officials of the MO and SB are presented with national and departmental honors.

In Gdansk during a formal ceremony the SUSW flag was decorated "for services to the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy and several score officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry received awards. Participating in the ceremony were deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the Gdansk Provincial Committee Stanislaw Bejger, Navy Commander Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn, representatives of the administrative authorities, prosecutory organs, the judiciary and social organizations.

In Bialystok province in the city of Mochbate, the elementary school was given the name of standard bearer Wacław Przyczyn, an SB official killed while heroically defending the people's government in 1946. In Warsaw on the 4th of this month, a ceremonial concert in which members of the Internal Affairs

Ministry participated was organized. Ceremonial meetings devoted to the anniversary of the establishment of the MO and SB also took place in Walbrzych, Zielona Gora and Chelm.

Special Order by Minister of Internal Affairs

On the 41st anniversary of the establishment of the MO and SB, Internal Affairs minister and general of arms Czeslaw Kiszczak issued a special order in which he expressed appreciation and gratitude to the MO and SB officials for their selfless service, discipline and support. "I am sure," Kiszczak noted, "that you will not spare your further efforts to contribute, by you exemplary service at every post, to fortifying the country's security and law and order, confirming your regard for the proud ideals of our socialist fatherland."

In directing his compliments to all officials, soldiers and employees of the Internal Affairs department and the MO Volunteer Reserve, Kiszczak recalled that we are on the eve of a momentous event in the public life of our country--the Sejm elections. He stressed that MO and SB officials, in participating together with other citizens in the elections, can express their patriotism and at the same time declare themselves in favor of the program of reform, dialogue and understanding laid out by the PZPR's 9th Extraordinary Congress, in the spirit of socialist ideals, to which they have always been and will be loyal.

New Police Installed With Praise

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] On the eve of the 41st anniversary of the establishment of the MO and SB, the official installation of this year's officers took place on 6 October in Warsaw at the seat of MO's Motorized Reserve [ZOMO] of SUSW. During the ceremony, outstanding and deserving policemen were awarded national and departmental honors.

"All of us serve one primary cause--the good of the socialist fatherland. . . We turn all our efforts toward fortifying security and order and keeping the peace for residents of the capital as well as the entire country," said Col Jerzy Zraznik, deputy chief of SUSW, in extending congratulations to those honored and compliments to all the police. Also taking part in the ceremony, in addition to ZOMO authorities, were Col Jerzy Chometowski, general director of the Internal Affairs Ministry; Brig Gen Edward Klosowski, SUSW chief, Prof Mieczyslaw Szostek, chairman of the Warsaw National Council; Stanislaw Bielecki, Warsaw vice-president, and representatives of the people's Polish Army, internal affairs services of socialist countries, prosecutor's offices and provincial courts, as well as representatives of ORMO, fire departments, Warsaw industries and social-political organizations. Families of the newly installed officers also came in great numbers from throughout the entire country.

Warsaw Police Receive New Flag

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Oct 85 p 8

[Text] The central Warsaw police received a new flag on the eve of their holiday, the 41st anniversary of the establishment of the MO and SB. It was presented to them last Saturday during a ceremony at the monument to those "who died in service and defense of People's Poland." The flag was funded by contributions from the central Warsaw community and industries in the district and is an expression of appreciation, as was noted, for the police's difficult and often dangerous duty. It is worth remembering that their predecessors began this duty the day after the liberation in the almost destroyed city.

Participating in the ceremony were Politburo member Albin Siwak, SUSW chief Brig Gen Edward Klosowski, party and administrative authorities of the district, veterans, retired MO officers, school children and scouts.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRESS PERSONNEL CHANGES, EVENTS FOR AUGUST 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 10, Oct 85 pp 60-62

[Excerpts] 1 August Zbigniew Bozek was named assistant editor in chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

1 August Leszek Miloszewski was named assistant editor in chief of KRONIKA in Bielsko-Biale.

1 August Pawel Janikowski was named assistant editor in chief of WYBRZEZE and recalled from his position as secretary of that publication.

1 August Jan Krauze was named assistant editor in chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA while retaining his previous duties as secretary of that publication.

5 August in Warsaw the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal accepted the national list of candidates to the Sejm. The national election convention adopted the list and turned it over for consultation with the electorate. The names of two journalists are on the list:

--Krystyna Zielinska-Zarzycka, journalist, publicist, Polish Radio commentator, author of articles and commentary on economic issues. During the occupation, a participant in the resistance movement in the ranks of the Polish Workers' Party in Warsaw. University education. Member of the PZPR, formerly the Polish Workers' Party. Born in 1924.

--Edmund Meclewski, chairmain of the "Wisla-Odra" Association. Publicist, journalist and commentator in the field of international affairs. Participant in the Warsaw uprising, soldier in the Home Army. Social activist. Member of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal. Sejm delegate during the sixth through eighth terms. University education. No party affiliation. Born in 1913.

12 August Mieczyslaw Alaba was named editor in chief of WIADOMOSCI SPORTOWE.

12 August Zbigniew Chomicz was named assistant editor in chief of RADAR.

15 August Rajmund Cieslinski was named assistant editor in chief of WIADOMOSCI SPORTOWE.

19 August a conference of managing editors of the central press, press agencies, radio, television, local newspapers and radio and television stations took place in the PZPR's Central Committee. Current problems of party publicity activity were presented by Bodgan Jachacz and Jerzy Majka, directors of Central Committee departments, and Witold Gadowski, Edward Kuczera and Czeslaw Rowinski, assistant directors of Central Committee departments. After discussion, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Jan Glowczyk summarized the meeting.

22 August Henry Laskowski was named assistant editor in chief of FILM.

29 August, 1945 the first issue of the people's movement newspaper, DZIENNIK LUDOWY, appeared. After a brief interruption in the years known as the years the errors and distortions, it was reissued on 20 January 1957. Today it is edited by 85 editors of both sexes. DZIENNIK LUDOWY has a daily circulation of 200,000 and the Saturday-Sunday edition 500,000. The oldest journalist is seniority and age is editor Jozef Glogowski, assistant editor in chief, and the youngest is editor Dorota Swiderek.

31 August Tadeusz Janik (in connection with his retirement) was recalled from his position as editor in chief of SPORT.

In August a new periodical called STUDIA SPOLECZNO-POLITYCZNE, published by the PZPR's Academy of Social Sciences, appeared on the readers' market. The first volume of STUDIA has a circulation of 500,000 and 265 pages. Aleksander Owieczko manages the editing of the new publication. He indicates in an introductory note that STUDIA is continuation of ZESZYTY NAUKOWE of the Higher School of Social Sciences and the editorial staff has set as its goal "Marxist analysis of the processes and phenomena occurring in the country's socio-economic and political life.

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BRIEFS

POLES REPEAT MISTAKES -- Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee Secretary: "...What a pity that those who dub themselves the moral voice of Poles, as well as those whom, by virtue of their knowledge, we call the makers of public opinion, emit only fainthearted warnings against a repetition of the same old mistakes harming the state. They find it increasingly convenient to blame the authorities for sins of commission and omission instead of taking a candid, reasoned and sagacious position on the genuine menace harbored in the appeals for action against Constitutional principles, against the law, against the state. Must every generation of Poles repeat anew the same mistakes without profiting from the lessons of history? [From interview by Boguslaw Morawski, SLOWO LUDU, 31 Aug-1 Sep] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Sep 85 p 2] 1386

POOR WORK ORGANIZATION BLASTED -- Prof Dr Przemyslaw Wojcik, political scientist: "Surveys indicate that 30-40 percent of blue collar workers, as well as engineers and technicians, must, after working for 8 hours at a state enterprise, moonlight and do odd jobs in order to somehow maintain their standards of living. Their working time then becomes markedly lengthened, which on the one hand refutes the notion that we are a society of idlers and, on the other, makes a mockery of our system of society. For a man should derive a decent living from 8 hours of work. But if he has to work 10-12 hours daily, where are we then? Already in the 19th century capitalism realized that shorter work hours are more productive than a 12-hour work day. Then also consider that additional hours have to be spent on commuting to and from work. These are consequences of a poor organization of labor and a faulty system of management of the economy. [From interview by Maria Supranowicz, ITD in Polish 25 Aug] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 28 Sep 85 p 2] 1386

NATIONAL DEFENSE MINISTRY MEETS PRESS REPS -- On 1 [October 1985] the Press Spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense Brig Gen Prof Leslaw Wojtasik met with a group of press, radio and television correspondents from socialist countries. The conference dealt with the coming 42nd anniversary of the formation of the People's Polish Army. Gen L. Wojtasik briefed the journalists about the history, traditions and the present of the Polish Army, on stressing the contribution that it, together with the entire Polish nation, had made to smashing German fascism. The participation of military units and institutions in the country's socioeconomic life and in bringing up the rising generation was also mentioned. The press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense

also answered the questions of journalists relating to, among other things, the program for celebrating the army anniversary. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS AT PZPR POLITBURO -- The Association of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations -- the largest Polish rural organization, whose traditions reach back for more than 120 years -- plays an important role in the development of agriculture. This year, for the second time in the organization's history, the anniversary of the establishment of agricultural circles is celebrated. On this occasion Marian Wozniak, a member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, met in Warsaw with the Association's activists from Warsaw Province. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

SED DELEGATION VISITS -- During its sojourn in Poland the delegation of the ZENTRAG Publishing and Printing Enterprise of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, headed by Director General Werner Wuerzburger, was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk. The talks dealt with strengthening the cooperation between the publishing houses and printing plants of the RSW PKR [Workers' Cooperative Publishing House "Press, Book, Distribution"] and the ZENTRAG. The talks were attended by RSW Chairman Wieslaw Rydygier. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

IRAQ AMBASSADOR IN GDANSK -- The Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq Hikmet A. Sattar Hussain was received by Candidate Member of the Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger. He also paid a visit to the Chairman of the Province People's Council Wlodzimierz Zwierzykowski and the Gdansk Province Governor Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Cygan. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

TARNOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE -- The Tarnow Province Defense Committee held a session. The sociopolitical situation in the region was discussed, as was the implementation of the recommendations and postulates voiced at pre-election meetings. [Based on PAP communique -- By (bc)] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 5] 1386

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER OF CULTURE --(PAP) Upon the recommendation of the minister of culture and art, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed citizen Tadeusz Zachariasiewicz to the office of undersecretary of state at that ministry. T. Zachariasiewicz was born in 1923 in Lwow, in an intelligentsia family. He was graduated from the School of Political Sciences at Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He has a record of nearly 40 years of work in managerial posts in the printing industry. Among other things, he was production director at the FOLLIT Printing Plant in Krakow (1946-1950), and for the subsequent 20 years he held the post of chairman of the MLODA GWARDIA Labor Cooperative of the Printing Industry in that city. Starting in 1970 he was the director of a printing plant in Krakow which during that period grew into a leading plant of its kind in this country. In addition, since 1982 he has been chairman of the Council of the POLIGRAFIA Association of State Printing Industry Enterprises as well as an active member of the National Cultural Council. He is a member of the PZPR. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

KULIKOV, SIWICKI MEET IN WARSAW -- First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Committee for National Defense Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Supreme Commander of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Countries Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov during his sojourn in Poland. During the meeting, which was held in an amicable atmosphere, the current political and military situation in Europe and aspects of further cooperation between the Polish Army and the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries were discussed. Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki was present at the conversation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 1] 1386

CULTURAL GOALS STATED -- The further development of the publishing industry, the dissemination of culture among children and youth, the battle for the purity of the Polish language and the protection of the Polish landscape, which also is a cultural good, as well as the assurance of adequate participation in culture for disabled and elderly persons -- such are the main tasks facing Polish culture, as outlined by Minister Kazimierz Zygulski during the all-Polish inauguration of the Year of Cultural Activities and the Artistic Season 1985/1986, held in Gorzow Wielkopolski. Cultural activists, artists and representatives of the authorities and youth and cultural organizations met together in the auditorium of the Juliusz Osterwa Theatre. On presenting to cultural activists greetings from Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, K. Zygulski pointed out that the current year will be particularly important to Polish culture. It is the year of elections to the Sejm and preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

ELECTIONS, INTERNATIONAL STATUS CONNECTED -- Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "...The elections to the Sejm will be highly significant not only to the domestic situation and to progress on the road of renewal and national consensus but also to Poland's standing in the world. This will be a mirror reflecting the attitude of our society toward the Polish raison d'etat, toward issues relating to assuring our national security as well as conditions for peaceful development. This event will be watched by both our friends and those interested in making Poland merely a tool in their game against socialism. We should bear this too in mind when making a choice on Election Day." [From interview by Leslaw Tokarski, PERSPEKTYWY, 20 Sep] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 5 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

RELIGIONS REPRESENTED IN SEJM -- Prof Dr Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Denominations: "...Given the same number of deputies, it can be expected that the proportion of members of the political parties will diminish. The number of nonparty members among deputies will increase. And probably Catholic and Christian deputies will account for a larger proportion of nonparty-member deputies. It can be expected that a couple of deputies maintaining liaison with the Episcopate will also be elected to the Sejm. It is likely that some of the deputies to our Sejm will derive from churches and religious associations other than the Roman Catholic Church -- Protestants, Russian Orthodox, citizens of the Mosaic persuasion, and also Moslems. Let's bear in mind that Poland maintains relations with about 40 countries in which

Islam is the dominant religion." [GAZETA PRACOWNICZA, 1 September] [Text]
[Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 5 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

OPPOSITION TO SELF-RULE NOTED -- Prof Marian Blazejczyk, attorney: "The declarations of the gmina administrations in favor of self-rule should be counted among the proverbial fairy tales, although of course here and there administrators show that they realize the inevitability of implementing the Constitutional principle of the self-government participation of the working people of town and country in governing. While visiting a gmina where I happened to participate in resolving conflicts between the village self-administration and the rural population, I asked the gmina chief why did he, contrary to the facts, proclaim himself an ardent champion of rural self-government. He answered with a disarming candor that, were he to talk otherwise he wouldn't be a gmina chief. Verbal support of self-rule thus does not mean actual support, as facts demonstrate. [KIERUNKI, 8 September] [Text]
[Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 5 Oct 85 p 2] 1386

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATORS MEET -- (PAP) The role of rural self-government in resolving political and socioeconomic problems was the topic of a conference of village councils and village administrators in the region, held in Skierniewice on 4 October. The conference was attended by Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Prof Boleslaw Struzek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 p 8] 1386

NOWY SACZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE -- (PAP) Security, public order and social discipline were the topics of the deliberations of the Nowy Sacz Province Defense Committee. It was found that, among other things, the principal factors in causing crime are alcoholism, parasitism and educational negligences as regards children and youth. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 p 8] 1386

SD PREPARES FOR EDUCATION CONFERENCE -- The seat of the SD [Democratic Party] Central Committee in Warsaw was the site of a conference of scientific associates and academic instructors at higher schools and scientific research centers who are members of that party. The conference dealt with the situation at higher educational institutions and the state of the preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Science. The state of these preparations was described by the Chairman of the Organizing Committee Prof Jan Kostrzewski, who also is chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It was established that the congress will be held on 8, 10 and 11 December. The Chairman of the SD Tadeusz W. Mlynczak took part in the meeting with the scientists. [Based on PAP communique, drafted by (wko)] [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 p2] 1386

MINISTERS' ADVISOR VISITS JAPAN--Tokyo (PAP). While visiting Japan, Major Wieslaw Gornicki, an advisor to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid a visit to T. Togo, the deputy director general for Europe and Oceania at the Foreign Ministry. He also had numerous meetings with leading representatives of Japanese political and economic circles -- those receiving him included S. Katsumate, deputy president of the lower house of the parliament, and M. Ichibashi, the head of the Japanese Socialist Party. He conducted talks with prominent figures in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party -- former Prime Minister T. Fukuda and the current Foreign Minister, and also T. Yahiro, the chairman of the Japanese-Polish economic committee. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 7] 9909

COOPERATION WITH BULGARIAN MEDIA--Sofia (PAP). A delegation from the Polish Committee for Radio and Television visited Sofia at the invitation of the Bulgarian Radio and Television Committee. There was a discussion of the present state of cooperation, and several new proposals were presented, which were included in a working protocol signed by the chairmen of the committees, Mirosław Wojciechowski and Stefan Tikhchev. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 7] 9909

CONSTITUTIONAL ROUND TABLE CONCLUDED-- A "round table" conference devoted to the role of constitutional law in preventing the inflation of law and raising its quality has concluded its proceedings. On that occasion a press conference took place, during which Salvador Maria Lozada of Argentina, the first vice chairman of the IACL [expansion unknown], and Sylwester Zawadzki, the chairman of the Polish section of that association, reported on the course of the proceedings. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 3] 9909

SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS DELEGATES--On 19 October, the Presidium of the SD [Democratic Party] Central Committee met in Warsaw with the 9th term deputies who are SD members. The influence of the election campaign for the Sejm and of the results of the elections upon the process of normalizing life in our country was emphasized. The need to continue activities aimed at further developing of the reconciliation process was pointed out. Emphasis was placed upon the need for a detailed analysis of the citizens' demands voiced during the election campaign, and the need to maintain continuing contacts with the voters. It is one of the fundamental conditions for increasing the parliament's prestige in society. The working discussion dealt with issues associated with the next meeting of the Sejm, which will inaugurate the term. Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, the chairman of the SD Central Committee, took part in the meeting. (PAP). [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 5] 9909

BLOC PRESS ATTACHES, CZYREK MEET--On 19 October, a meeting took place at the PZPR Central Committee between Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the press attaches from the embassies of the socialist countries and the press, radio, and television correspondents from those countries who are accredited in Warsaw. J. Czyrek, while answering many questions, presented a political assessment of the electoral campaign for the Polish Sejm, the course and results of the elections, and the party's tasks arising from the current sociopolitical situation in the country. The meeting was conducted by Bogdan Jachacz, the head of the PZPR Central Committee's Press, Radio, and Television Department. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

NOWE DROGI HOSTS CUBAN VISITOR--Maria Luiza More, a member of the collegium of CUBA SOCIALISTA, the theoretical-political organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, visited Poland from 9 to 20 October at the invitation of the editors of NOWE DROGI. At the editorial office of NOWE DROGI, talks were held, with the participation of chief editor Stanisław Wronski, on developing cooperation between the two editorial offices. The Cuban guest was informed about the ideological and political activity of the party, and in the Warsaw, Poznań, and Toruń provinces she met with

representatives of provincial and plant party echelons. Talks were conducted at the PZPR Central Committee with Bronislaw Ratus, the head of the Science and Education Department, and Jan Bysztyga, the deputy head of the Information Department. Minister Adam Lopatka, the head of the Office of Religious Affairs, also met with the Cuban guest. The Cuban delegate was received by Jan Glowczyk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

MEETING WITH BULGARIAN TRADE UNIONISTS--Leszek Brojanowski, the deputy chairman of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions] met on 19 October with Maria Marikian, the deputy chief of the Foreign Department of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. They discussed matters related to the preparation of the 1986 plan for cooperation between the trade unions of Poland and Bulgaria. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

PROSECUTOR GENERAL VISITS CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Prague (PAP). During a visit to Czechoslovakia, a delegation from the office of the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, headed by Prosecutor General Jozef Zyta, was received on Monday by Dalibor Hanes, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Assembly's Chamber of Nationalities. During the visit, the delegation will exchange experiences in prosecution work and it will discuss the problems of Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation and legal assistance. The occasion for this is the talks with leading representatives of the office of the Prosecutor General of Czechoslovakia, and Prosecutor General Jan Fejesz. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 7] 9909

BLOC EDUCATION MINISTERS TO MEET--The sixth conference of the education ministers of the socialist countries will take place in Poland from 18 to 22 November. The main subject will be the role of the school in the contemporary ideological struggle. On 23 October, Minister of Education and Upbringing Boleslaw Faron informed journalists concerning matters related to the preparations for the conference. [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL MEETS--The next plenary meeting of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education began on 23 October at the Warsaw Polytechnical School. The members of the Council were informed of a report on the work of that body that had been prepared by its chairman, Prof. Roman Ciesielski, in connection with the draft amendments for the laws on higher education and academic degrees and titles, and also the new laws on the office of the Minister for Science and Higher Education and on research and development units. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

LABOR'S CULTURAL ROLE EXPANDED--A meeting between representatives of workers' associations and cultural creators, and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon, was devoted to the problems of strengthening the workers' cultural social movement and restoring cultural sponsorship by work establishments. The situation, the directions of the program, and the determining factors for the further development of this movement were

discussed. There was a favorable assessment of many valuable initiatives undertaken by it in the area of spreading culture. The participants in the meeting included Witold Nawrocki, chief of the Cultural Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Tadeusz Sawic, secretary of the National Council of Culture, Pawel Szymanski, deputy chairman of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions], and Edward Golebiowski, deputy minister of culture and art. The RSTK movement was represented by Michal Krajewski, Pawel Soroka, and Marian Kasprzyk, among others. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Oct 85 p2] 9909

SIWAK VISITS BRATISLAVA--Prague (PAP). Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, visited Slovakia. At the Polish consulate general in Bratislava, he participated in a meeting of the social and party activist of Polish construction workers and other Polish workers working in Slovakia. He also visited a Polish work force building a refrigeration plant in the city of Dunajska Streda. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 7] 9909

SOCIAL POLICY MEETING ON SELF-MANAGEMENT--A 3-day scientific conference on "Self-Management and the Self-Organization of Local and Milieu Societies in the Process of Satisfying Social Needs" began on 24 October in Halina, near Warsaw. It was jointly organized by the Institute for Social Policy of the University of Warsaw, the Collective for Social Policy of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council, and the PAX Federation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 5] 9909

SESSION ON RADIO COMMUNICATIONS--The 26th session of the program radio commission of the International Radio and Television Organization, OIRT, took place in Warsaw. Representatives of the radio systems of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Cuba, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and the USSR, and OIRT Secretary General Genadiy Codr, participated. A representative of the Yugoslav radio system participated in the proceedings as an observer. Representatives of the embassies of Afghanistan, Mongolia, and North Korea were guests at the session. The participants in the session discussed the problem of cooperation among radio organizations during the period since the meeting that took place in Sofia in 1984, and adopted action programs for the coming years. Jan Grzelak, deputy chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, and head of the Polish Radio collective, was elected chairman of the program radio commission of the OIRT for the next term. Bogdan Jachacz, the chief of the PZPR Central Committee's Press, Radio, and Television Department, met with the chairmen of the delegations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

PATIENTS BLAMED FOR 'SHORTAGE' OF DOCTORS--Mieczyslaw Skapski in GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI (21 October): "Every time I go out into the so-called field I find out that there is a shortage of doctors there. But after all, in Poland we have 19 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, which does not put us in the worst place in the world. France and Great Britain both have 15, and Japan has 13. Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, and Ireland also have fewer doctors than Poland. We know from somewhere that Sweden or Finland has a health service at the highest level in the world. Perhaps because the average Swede visits the

doctor 2.1 times a year, and the Finn twice? The Pole actually does this 6.5 times." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 6] 9909

RAKOWSKI MEETS WITH TEACHERS' UNION--(PAP) On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the activities of the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP], Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the leadership of the union -- President Kazimierz Pilat, vice presidents Michal Langowski and Jan Zaciura, and secretary Zbigniew Cierpka. Minister of Education and Upbringing Boleslaw Faron participated in the meeting. The activities of the union were described, and attention was also called to the difficulties with which Polish education is struggling. Expressing congratulations and best wishes for the union and the teaching profession, the deputy premier emphasized the importance that the party and state authorities attach to the pedagogical and educational work of teachers, who are already preparing young Poles for life in the 21st century. This requires continually improving the work, increasing professional qualifications, adopting modern teaching methods, and actively participating in political and social life. At the same time, Deputy Premier M. F. Rakowski expressed acknowledgement and thanks to the leadership and members of the ZNP for their consistent participation in the implementation of the education policy of the party and the government. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

CABARETS RISKY FOR TV--From the interview that Hanna Galska conducted with Eryk Lipinski in ANTENA: [Question] "Perhaps you know what to do to make television funnier?" [Answer] "Television does not have to be funnier. Many programs that are considered serious give rise to amusement. One therefore cannot say that television is sad. On the other hand, it is a mistake to speak of entertainment in television. There have been and there are many such entertainments. After all, a lumberjack from Hajnowka is amused by one thing, and intellectuals by another (...)." [Question] "And how do you interpret the lack of cabaret on television?" [Answer] "It is a result of the deep division that has arisen in our society. With a lack of tolerance again, it is risky to appear in a cabaret, since it can always be perceived in two different ways -- by the government, as showing that one is a member of the opposition, and by the audience, as showing that 'one is with the government.'" [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 8] 9909

PRON, ROMANIAN DELEGATION MEET--From 21 to 26 October, at the invitation of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council, a delegation from the National Council of Romania's Front for Democracy and Socialist Unity [FDIJS] visited Poland. The delegation was composed of Ion Sirbu, secretary of the FDIJS National Council and deputy chairman of the Workers' Control Council for Socioeconomic Activity of the Central Committee of the RCP, Konstanca Turcu, chairman of the FDIJS District Council in Braila, secretary of the District Committee of the RCP, and Nicolae Mares, member of the FDIJS National Council's commission for foreign relations and an advisor in the Foreign Ministry. The delegation was received by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the PRON National Council. Romanian ambassador Ion Tesu participated in the talks. There was an exchange of views on the subject of the state of relations and the development of cooperation between Poland and Romania,

including cooperation between PRON and FDIJS. The Romanian guests visited Krakow, where they became acquainted with the achievements and current activities of the councils and elements of PRON in that region, and met with the city's political and administrative authorities. The delegation was welcomed by Jan Dobraczynski, the chairman of the PRON National Council. Jerzy Jaskiernia, the secretary general of the PRON National Council, also met with it, and informed it about PRON's current tasks following the completion of the electoral campaign and the Sejm elections. At the end of the visit, an agreement was signed on cooperation between the PRON National Council and the FDIJS National Council for the years 1986-1990; the PRON representatives were invited to pay a visit to Romania. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

ZSL HOSTS HUNGARIANS--On 25 October, Roman Malinowski, the president of the NK ZSL [Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party] received a delegation visiting Poland from the National Council of Production Cooperatives from Hungary, headed by Laszlo Hosszu, secretary of the Provincial Union of Production Cooperatives. R. Malinowski informed the guests about the sociopolitical and economic situation in Poland in the context of the Sejm elections that had been held, and also the role and place of the ZSL in the political system of our country. Kazimierz Oleslak and Roman Szarek, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the NK ZSL, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' JOURNALISTS HOSTED--A 6-week course for young journalists from the developing countries ended on 25 October at the House of Journalists in Zaborowo. The course, organized by the Center for Training and Improving Cadres and the Center for Journalistic Studies of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" RSW [Workers' Cooperative Publishing House], is Poland's contribution to the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC) adopted in 1980 at the 21st session of the UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade. The young journalists participating in the classes represented the countries of Benin, Gambia, Lesotho, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, Tanzania, Yemen, Afghanistan, China, North Korea, Mongolia, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. They listened with great interest to lectures about the political, social, and economic problems of Poland. During numerous meetings and discussions with sociopolitical activists, scholars, and prominent journalists, they became acquainted with the theory and practice of journalistic work, both in the press and in radio and television. The young journalists learned about the history and the present of Warsaw and its vicinity, Torun, Lublin, and Krakow. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

'RURAL' UNIVERSITY RE-OPENED--In the town of Gac, in the Przemysl province, the Ignac Solarz Cooperative People's University resumed activity after an interval of many years. Ignac Solarz, a prominent rural and cooperative activist, educator, and teacher, was murdered by the Nazis in 1940. This distinguished rural university, with a rich tradition, was founded in 1932, and even then gathered people striving for the social advancement of the Polish village. In spite of repression by the reform authorities [Pilsudsky's followers], it not only expanded professional knowledge, but also taught social activism and an appreciation of the values of national culture, and

instilled moral principles. The participants in the ceremony of the reactivation of this institution included Franciszek Hawer, vice president of the NK ZSL [Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party], representatives of political and administrative authorities from several provinces in southeastern Poland, young people organized in the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], and alumni. Ignac Solarz's widow Zofia was warmly welcomed. Roman Malinowski, ZSL President and Deputy Premier, and Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, sent a letter with cordial greetings to the first class of students and to the alumni. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 7] 9909

FRENCH COMMUNISTS VISIT--A study group from the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, headed by Jacques Dimet, a representative of the Central Committee's Foreign Department, visited Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. The group was informed in particular about the process of the implementation of the economic reform in our country, the activities of worker self-management bodies at enterprises, and party work. The delegation visited and conducted talks at enterprises in Warsaw and the Gdansk province. The delegation of French communists was received by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk. At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Wlodzimierz Hausner, deputy chief of the Economic Department, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

PZPR CC HOSTS INDIAN COMMUNISTS--At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee, Unii Krishnan, a member of the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party and that party's representative on the editorial board of "Problems of Peace and Communism," visited Poland. The guest had talks at the Foreign and Agricultural Departments of the PZPR Central Committee, the Office of Religious Affairs, and the Office for International Cooperation of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions]. In the course of these talks, the two sides informed each other about current problems in the activities of both parties. U. Krishnan was also informed about some aspects of the current sociopolitical situation in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

SEMINAR ON TEACHERS' PARTY EDUCATION--A nationwide seminar of organizers of party education among teachers took place at the Center for Party Courses of the PZPR Central Committee. Its participants discussed the problems associated with the socialist and secular nature of Polish schools. There was also a discussion of selected problems in the educational work of schools and shelter-educational institutions. The contents of the seminar will be the subject of ideological meetings of the basic party organizations active in education. Representatives of the Department for Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee and the Ministry of Education and Upbringing participated in the work of the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

OPZZ, PEACE COMMITTEE COOPERATION--On 26 October, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the chairman of the OKP [National Peace Committee], met with Alfred Miodowicz, the

chairman of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions] at the headquarters of the OKP. They informed each other about the activities undertaken by the OKP and the OPZZ in Poland and in international forums on behalf of the struggle for peace and the prevention of a nuclear war. Forms of cooperation between the two organizations were also agreed upon. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

COOPERATION WITH FINNISH JOURNALISTS--On 26 October, at the Main Office of the Polish SD [Association of Journalists], an agreement was signed on cooperation between Finland's Union of Journalists and Poland's Association of Journalists for the years 1986-1987. The document refers directly to the program for cooperation in culture, science, and related areas during the years 1985-1987, contained in the intergovernmental agreement between Finland and Poland that was signed on 12 September 1984 in Warsaw. It is planned that both unions, acting jointly in the spirit of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act, will inform each other about the activities of their organizations, exchange experiences and materials, and also provide direct assistance in achieving concrete agreements on cooperation between individual media organizations in Finland and Poland. The agreement also provides for an exchange of Polish and Finnish journalists, as well as for rendering assistance in the fulfillment of the official duties of Finnish correspondents in Poland and Polish correspondents in Finland. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Finnish Union of Journalists by its chairman, Antero Laine, and on behalf of the Polish Association of Journalists, by Klemens Krzyzagorski, the chairman of the Main Office. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT PROSECUTORS MEET--A conference of provincial prosecutors and prosecutors from the military districts and the branches of the armed forces has taken place, devoted to an assessment of the work of the Polish Prosecutor's Office so far in 1985 and to a discussion of the tasks and courses of action for 1986. During the discussion, it was emphasized, among other things, that the increase in criminal penalties for particularly serious crimes, together with the substantial expansion of preventive action, is yielding the first socially desired results in curbing the growth of crime. Prosecutor General Jozef Zyta, indicating the main directions of the tasks in 1986, emphasized the need to continue raising the level of the efficiency of prosecution activities, and in particular the need to improve the quality and effectiveness of the work. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

PZPR CADRE POLICY DISCUSSED--The Department for Cadre Policy of the PZPR Central Committee and the editorial board of NOWE DROGI organized a discussion on 28 October, devoted to the realization of the "Main Goals of PZPR Cadre Policy," adopted in October 1983 at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Representatives of work establishments, party and youth echelons, trade unions, science, and the state administration took part in the discussion. During the discussion, practical experiences in realizing the goals of cadre policy were considered; a great deal of attention was devoted, among other things, to the criteria for the selection and evaluation of management cadres under the conditions of the renewal and the reformed economy, to the creation and utilization of a cadre reserve, to the creation

of young cadres, to planned rotation, and to the efficient flow of cadres for optimum utilization of them. The discussion was chaired by Wladyslaw Honkisz, the chief of the Department for Cadre Policy of the PZPR Central Committee, and by Stanislaw Wronski, the chief editor of NOWE DROGI. It will be published on the pages of NOWE DROGI. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

HUNGARIAN CONTROL COMMISSION VISITS--At the invitation of Division General Tadeusz Hupalowski, the president of NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control], a delegation from Hungary's Central Commission for People's Control arrived in Poland on 28 October. The delegation was headed by Jozef Szakali, the chairman of the commission. The guests are learning about the functioning of NIK and the activities of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate, in both the central and the regional structures. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

ZSL HOSTS SOVIET AGRICULTURAL EXPERT--On 29 October, Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, the president of the ZSL [United Peasant Party], received Prof. Mikhail Kozyr, the chief of the Department for Problems of Agricultural Law of the Institute for State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who was visiting Poland at the invitation of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute for State and Law. They discussed the problems of the food industry in Poland, and Polish-Soviet cooperation in the area of agriculture and the food industry. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

FRG AMBASSADOR VISITS AUSCHWITZ--FRG Ambassador Franz Pfeffer paid a visit to Tadeusz Salwa, the mayor of Krakow, and to Jozef Gregorczyk, the secretary of the PZPR KK [expansion unknown], and met with Prof. Jozef Gierowski, the rector of the Jagiellonian University. The ambassador visited the site of the former Nazi concentration camp in Oswiecim-Brzezinka, and laid flowers under the Wall of Death and the Monument of the Victims of Fascism in Brzezinka. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

GDR JUSTICE MINISTER VISITS--Jans Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Justice of the GDR, is visiting Poland at the invitation of the Polish Minister of Justice. The purpose of the visit is to make an evaluation of the state of cooperation to date between the two ministries, both in the area of improving the law and legal practice and improving cadres, and also in personnel exchange and the development of forms and methods for developing it further. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

MONGOLIAN MINISTER VISITS--Mongolian Minister of Construction M. Cerendondog, the chairman of the Mongolian-Polish Friendship Society, visited our country for several days at the invitation of the Council of the Society for Friendship with Peoples and the Polish-Mongolian Friendship Society [TPPM]. The Mongolian guest, who was accompanied by Mongolian ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary U. Czajdzilsuren, met with the TPPM actif at the Polish-Mongolian Friendship Club in Warsaw, and next paid a visit to Z. Pilecki, the deputy chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council. During his visit, M. Cerendondog conducted talks with St. Kukuryka, Minister of Construction and the Construction Materials

Industry, and visited the Concrete Industry Enterprise in Kozienice and Fabex-Zremb in Warsaw. At the end of his visit to Poland, he was received by J. Lewandowski, deputy chief of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee. W. Bek, the president of the Polish-Mongolian Friendship Society, participated in the meetings. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

BIALOPODLASKI REGIONAL AFFAIRS INSPECTORATE--On 29 October, the Main Regional Inspectorate [GIT] completed a comprehensive inspection of the Biala Podlaska province. The inspection group was led by the head of GIT, Brig. Gen. Edward Drzazga. It was established that the local authorities are fulfilling their tasks in satisfying basic social needs in a relatively correct manner. There have been 168 people punished in official and disciplinary proceedings, including 7 people discharged from managerial posts and another 7 suspended from duty. The GIT inspection group submitted a request for the punishment of 14 individuals to the Biala Podlaska governor. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 2] 9909

OPPOSITION PRESS FLOURISHES, OTHERS LINGER -- The underground "opposition" literature is published with money from foreign sponsors, although -- unfortunately -- from the Polish Church as well; that is the reason why its content, political and ideological rhetoric, and artistic value are the way they are and not something different. The people who create it consider themselves, or pretend to consider themselves, the saviors of Poland, and unconsciously or consciously mislead their readers. What remedy is there for this? Perhaps it could be a response in the form of books published through the regular press. A fundamental difficulty appears here, however: the state of our printing industry is such that one has to wait several years for the publication of a book. There is a shortage of paper, the printing presses break down, and there is no money for spare parts. Recognized authors thus have to wait, and those making their first appearance have to wait even longer. [Letter from writer Halina Auderska, president of the League of Polish Writers, originally published in ZWIAZKOWIEC, No 31/85] [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 3] 9909

SATIRIST ON NATIONAL SENSE OF HUMOR--The Polish public loves to laugh at others, but not at itself. In order to be successful on the stage, one must mock others. Even if one speaks of national shortcomings, everyone thinks that it is not about him. Poles prefer an allusion to a joke that is told frankly. [Letter from satirist Tadeusz Drozda, originally published in ANTENA, No 33/85] [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 7] 9909

CSO: 2600/99

YOUTH PAPER RIDICULES DISSIDENT STOJANOVIC

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by Ivan Lovrinovic: "Who Finds Yugoslavia Too Cramped?"]

[Text] Does the social situation have to develop in the direction where only after a major escalation of nationalism will a systematic beginning be made and the disturbances seriously corrected which have actually produced it? The recent nationalistic outbursts unfortunately seem to confirm that assumption, and similar experiences date back even to the beginning of the seventies. What good is historical experience, then, and is it possible to tolerate the status quo in the ideological sphere for such a long time. More and more frequently the LCY is provocatively called upon as being the most responsible for the present situation, and many people are in its name sully the achievements of the revolution to date, and they interpret any possible condemnation by society or the competent institutions as a lack of democracy, as a party monopoly, as a persecution of intellectuals.... Having seized upon the "worker constitution," the technobureaucracy today, after having enjoyed the blessings of self-management to its fill, has put the system of self-management in the defendant's box now that the bills have come in. With primitive ideological and theoretical charges which take as their point of departure that it lacks this and it lacks that, the salaries are low, all the way to the accusation that this system is the result of the desires of the people who used to be at the top of the party. People have today become irritated by theoretical dissertations on the causes of the present situation, and they are and more susceptible to opinions of that kind, since they are interested first of all in straightening out the conditions of their own lives. Usually anti-communist ideologues find members of other nationalities or community spirit to be at fault for the present situation, and they look upon the process of pooling labor and investments in the development of the underdeveloped as exploitation of one nationality by another. These dangerous ideological deceptions certainly cannot be underestimated, especially today, since production relations have been disrupted to the advantage of statism and the capital relation. Nationalisms and similar phenomena cannot be dealt with, as is well known, either by the police or the courts, but only by decisive undertakings with respect to the basic production relation. The pluralism of interests is more and more being interpreted as the right to establish new parties that would supposedly acknowledge the leading role of the LCY in society. According to the ideologues of such reflections, Yugoslavia has for quite some time

now been characterized by a state of "ideological monolithism," and since the party has the monopoly of power, yet is not solving the present problems, there is a need to "refresh" the situation on the ideological front and in everyday life. The burden is that there are no pathways for democratic solution to the problem.

How the Nationality Came Into Being

It is true that the technobureaucratic forces have been consolidated even in the ranks of the LCY, but do we now have to establish another party that would deal with such opinions and tendencies as though there were no such thing as internal party democracy and the delegate system. Only when the LCY purges its ranks can it carry out a social campaign decisively. Bakaric once said: "On this question a very clear decision has to be made: Either we will go to battle against the difficulties with the Communists of Yugoslavia, or we will be an opposition and a prey for anyone." Analyzing the nationalistic outbursts, it is in general noticeable that the workers have taken the least part in them, and the offenders are actually drunk and operatives carrying out the strategy of nationalistic groups operating in a calculated way from concealment, and with their nationalistic ideologies, which are usually based on historical mythomania and religion, they impose themselves as protectors of the interests of the working class, which is absurd, since the nationality did not produce the working class and socialism, but rather the nationality came into being at a certain level of capitalism and spread as its market spread. Unity of the class aspect and the ethnic aspect in Yugoslavia is assuming the character of a social law in that there can be no disagreement between a man as the member of a nationality and the same man as a member of a class. Recently there have been tendencies and ambitions of the state to be the basis of the nationality. Instead of strengthening self-management, polycentric statism has become stronger, and its bureaucracy has alienated the surplus value and thereby turned itself more and more into the manager and protector of national capital. Phenomena of this kind, should they continue, and that is the trend they display, will inevitably cause a strengthening of nationalism, since the surplus value is being alienated from the producers themselves. Since for the present we do not have a unified Yugoslav market, the divided capital will necessitate a division of the organization of production, but of the working class as well.

Political Ambitions

As we showed in the last issue, the process of expropriation of social property is on the rise, and the manifestations of all the reactionary ideologies cannot be examined outside that context, since the disrupted production relation is nationalism's native place. Today the economy and the working class are managing an ever smaller part of income, since this is being done more and more by the state. About 5 percent of individuals possess about 50 percent of the balances of savings accounts. Recently we have been hearing more and more frequently that our citizens possess between \$20 and \$30 billion outside the country, which is an immense potential, which, there you have it, we do not know how to use or refuse to use to repay the debts and speed up the pace of production, which in turn would mark a turn away from concern with reactionary

ideologies. The ideological problems in activating those resources ought not to exist if they are astutely channeled. It is a quite different story with the tax burdens of that part of the population within the country. Out of the 734 billion dinars collected for budgets of sociopolitical communities over the January-August period of this year, more than 438 billion came from the turnover tax, 173 billion from customs duties and special import charges, 4.5 billion from farmers, and only 14 billion dinars from all other individuals, which represents only 2.5 percent of the entire amount. This kind of tax system has catastrophic economic and social consequences and is one of the principal generators of social stratification. It is well known that the economic power of individuals which has built up also has political ambitions in order to ensure reproduction of its capital.

Almost the entire burden of government expenditure falls on the workers in the socialized sector, whose existence is being menaced day after day.

Today the economy possesses about 800 billion dinars for current business operation, and individuals more than 2,000 billion, and the government (by means of primary note issue) about 1,000 billion dinars. Foreign credits which the economy has to pay amount to \$6 billion (18,000 billion dinars). These figures should be reflected on, rather than talking about the growth of exports, output, and so on, with empty economic technicism. Behind all of that there stand specific class and social consequences. All of this states clearly whose interests are being protected.

The System Is Turning in a Circle

A typical example of the demands for "refreshing the situation" and of offering a way out of the crisis is provided by the reflections of Svetozar Stojanovic at the round-table discussion organized by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on 29 March 1984 in Belgrade. After having asserted that our system has been going around in a vicious cycle for 40 years now, he said: "The possibility for any sort of important innovations, even ideological innovations, has been exhausted in the framework of the modification referred to. It is not that this kind of system is unable to carry out the historical objectives it has proclaimed; it is no longer to achieve even short-term and everyday objectives, the objectives, say, of guaranteeing regular supply to the population, not to mention elementary democratization of the ruling party...." So that we might represent the totality of these reflections more clearly, we will give some more quotes: "Until recently the official ideology prevailed without objections in the picture of our quite recent history. By attacking the core of that ideological-historical syndrome, several recent books and discussions have made an important contribution to creating a more accurate historical picture, without which it is not possible to have an accurate awareness of our present situation. The time has come for great surprises for a reading public accustomed to an ideologized version of the past.... In ideologized history one's own achievements are interpreted as the result of the choice and commitment of the protagonists, and mistakes as the results of the operation of adverse circumstances. Accordingly, some of the predecessors of the break with Stalin resulted in an inconsistent explanation: They interpreted the conflict with Stalin as the result of their choice, but they

represented all the Stalinistic features of their own policy as the outcome of the operation of difficult objective conditions. Still worse, they resolutely denied that they had ever had anything to do with Stalinism.... The Yugoslav ideology has in its development described an arc from self-conscious to shame-faced Bolshevism.... But our Bolsheviks do not dare to admit that political pluralism toward the end of the war and a short time after it was only a tactical mask in the CPY's strategic endeavor to establish its monopoly.... In the Yugoslav ideology there is a great confusion because contradictory concepts have been joined together, above all the dictatorship of the proletariat and self-management."

So, these and similar theses begin on the premise that the real and full truth has not yet been stated about the war and the revolution, that the criminal and the victim are on the same level, that the former party elite was actually a kind of "network of Soviet agents," and that the "regime" was Stalinistic, and according to them there has in fact been no democratization of relations, and all the way to the assertion that further construction (presumably) of socialism is impossible without legalizing and institutionalizing the multiparty system. Bourgeois parliamentary democracy is shown to be better than socialist democracy, and the strongest arguments are that in other places you can freely swear at the head of state, and so on. That kind of democracy in essence comes down to idleness and secondary issues.

Intellectual Romanticism

At the same time tax evasion or, for example, the spread of communist ideas usually result in a prison sentence or "political hospitals," which is the most recent phenomenon, for example, in the United States. The recent scandals about the involvement of the English Secret Service in the policy of the BBC, about the sinking of the ship with opponents of nuclear weapons, the beating of black youths in the poor neighborhoods of England, state terrorism, and so on, show what kind of democracy is really involved. As a matter of fact, it is ridiculous to dwell on such explanations, since they have been provoked by adherents of an "intellectual romanticism" who do not understand the concepts and the dialectical unity between the dictatorship of the proletariat and self-management. This is a failure to understand the role of the subjective factor in the development of self-management. It is true that today the situation in the LCY is such that there will be no true action until a clear differentiation is made, but in no case is there a need to establish an "Alliance of Socialists" as Stojanovic would like, and therefore to eliminate all those from the party who have gone astray. For decades now the Democratic and Republican administrations have alternated in the United States, but fundamental social contradictions will never be resolved with their philosophy. The problems of building socialism are not solved overnight, but its road is truly the difficult road of socialism, along which reaction and revolution come into conflict from time to time.

Cramped Yugoslavia

Stojanovic goes on to say: "So, the opportunities for liberalization and democracy should for the present be sought in a reform of the present one-party

system. The way it is now, it represents the principal cause of the crisis we find ourselves in and the greatest obstacle to getting out of it." He goes on to recommend that the LCY should have its own "LCY Council," and that true political pluralism cannot come about "...without passing through transitional stages and arrangements," or abrupt and radical moves have to be made by young party members, of whom he says in regret "...there are very few of them who are unreservedly Eurocommunist in their orientation." At the end he concludes: "Yugoslavia was until recently too small for the ambitions of our leaders, so that they concerned themselves above all with world problems."

It is obvious that recently we have had a process whereby the opposition principally troubled by socialist Yugoslavia has been unified. It is clear to the workers that all kinds of mediation by various structures and tutelage of the working class have brought this situation about. Yet there also exists this kind of tutor's explanation to the working class that it has nothing to rebel against, since this is its own self-management, and then there also exist the workers' councils and the delegate system as ways of solving problems. Since this is self-management, they say, it turns out that they are revolting against themselves, which creates in a segment of the working class an internal tension and "state of madness," since it forces it to then think about itself and its own behavior as the cause of the problem. It is evident from an analysis conducted by the trade unions that in over 30 percent of the cases the workers' council has committed illegal acts incompatible with its role. In a goodly number of cases it has turned into a transmissino belt for technobureaucratic interests. It sounds absurd to be told that if one wants to replace a delegate at the federal level, it takes at least 8 months, while at the same time we need to prune the excessive normativism. The only bright point in the economic policy today has been the growth of production, which until recently has been approaching negative rates, which is very disturbing. No one is going to bring us self-management if we do not fight for it ourselves, however much this might sound like phrasemaking. The Yugoslav nationalities and ethnic minorities were not brought together by an idyll of history, as Bakaric would put it, but by their common future.

7045

CSO: 2800/134

SOCIAL SCIENTIST DISCUSSES WHY SYSTEM WILL NOT CHANGE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 86 pp 24-28

[Interview with Dr Dusan Bilandzic, professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Political Science]

[Excerpts] [B.] We are in an almost Kafka-like situation. For almost half a century of our liberated development the world has changed unbelievably, entirely new social structures have arisen; since the war a million of our people have completed a faculty education, but the question is whether these big changes are dictating a change of our world view, whether our views of the development of society are changing in a philosophical sense. For me the basic question is whether the world view with which this movement entered the revolution and lived for a long time afterward has collided with the development of society, such that our vision, our views of the future should be concerned. It seems to me that the thinking based on a model type [of society] has...entered a crisis.

All revolutionary movements, the communist one explicitly, have had some conceptualized model of social development. Before the war, at the time of the armed revolution, and directly after the war, our vision was state socialism, a social system which was said at the very first step that with its establishment the hired-labor position of the working class will be eliminated. But because we were compelled to carry out a forced state accumulation of capital and realize the industrial revolution which is characterized by so-called machine production (and this type of organization, regardless of whether it is done by a bourgeois or socialist state independent of the will of the people, reduces the individual worker to being part of a machine) the entire process of industrialization is inevitably carried out with the aid of a strict hierarchical governing mechanism. This cannot be avoided, regardless of constitutions, declarations, and party programs, the worker remains in a hired-labor position. This model-method of thinking which seeks immediate realization regardless of whether the historical assumptions in the development of production forces and the consciousness of the people have been achieved, leads to strengthening a repressive apparatus, increasing the power of the hierarchical structure. When we nevertheless threw out this model which we had once said would liberate the working class..., when we threw this out not only as a bad...but also as a potentially counter-revolutionary solution, we created a new model, a dialectical negation of the first model. We changed the model but the world view remains the same; methodologically, we are not turning away from the idea of

the model. Just as before we declared that we have a final solution, so [now] we want to achieve self-management in the same short time, as a solution valid for all times. With the economic reform, we are throwing into the model of social ownership and self-management also the law of value to rationalize the self-management model. The changes put forth in the Law of Associated Labor [ZUR] are also a model view of society intended to overcome the despotic rule of etatism but also to eliminate the tyranny of the law of value. This tendency to see social development...as a process of changing models has not changed in all this time. Is such a view of society now in a crisis in the middle of the 1980's?

After Tito a dramatic criticism broke out over the present model of social relations which was so radical in some areas that the belief is beginning to be created in some parts that some big turning-point can be expected very soon in Yugoslavia. To be sure, there are still several taboo subjects but, seen as a whole, the present model of the social system of the country has been exposed to criticism without precedent not only since the war but [to a degree] not remembered even in former Yugoslavia. But the system largely stands firm, almost nothing is changing. Now, on the one hand, is strong criticism possible and, on the other hand, a fascinating resistance of the system toward changes?

Neither one of the two dominant models in the world, neither Soviet state socialism nor a multiparty system and reprivatization of the means of production, are a solution for us; we have tried both and thrown them out and there is no longer a possibility of accepting either of these two options. If therefore both these models are blocked and a third does not exist even in the imagination, then we cannot easily come out of the present [situation].

Of course, it should be said that this model is not good, that there are many defects, but we cannot throw out old clothes before buying new ones; no matter how tight or patched they are, we must continue wearing them. Our central question is whether there is a basis for the present model, if it cannot be radically changed into some other one, to be able to change within itself. But discussion about whether changes can or should be made within the system is so politicized, an unhealthy political climate has been created in which the clashing sides mutually accuse each other of desiring a return to the old, to some previously rejected models. This climate is to be feared more than the possibility that under normal circumstances, without some moves from outside, we will move to a Western or Eastern model.

I do not know why [such a climate has been created], but I have some indications which can help in searching for the reasons. In the past, through political struggle, through changes of the system, quite a few unreal, as well as real, fears, sometimes even panic, have settled in, namely, that someone will try to impose his solutions. For instance, one of the central questions of our further development is certainly the law of value, around which disputes have continued since the October Revolution. We have had two large attempts to apply this law of value in our system. After the conflict with Stalinism the prevailing thesis was, especially with Kidric and Kardelj, that a society which chokes the law of value by state intervention inevitably leads to

Stalinism, so that the only salvation for the revolution of self-management is in alliance with the law of value. At the time of the economic reform (the second time) the idea of the law of value was again revitalized: Outstanding party leaders believe in it almost unrestrictedly. But in both cases the ideological impetus was dispersed, the mechanism of goods production was not put into operation, after brief shocks the state apparatus recovered and slowly returned the rights, temporarily taken away, of the state to govern through directives and regulations. This is the basic distribution of forces up to now. There is still a very lively tension between those who think that application of the law of value leads to formation of the capitalist economic system minus the bourgeoisie and those who say that eliminating the law of value in fact leads to state socialism. Thus, there is no basis to assume spectacular changes will be made within this mode. This ideological burden also blocks really possible changes within the system and makes impossible even small shifts because it is thought that these lead either to a capital-type relation or to state socialism. Thus, I do not see the possibility of making some new model, as has been done up to now. Although there will always be those who will long for this, this model approach to the problems of social development is steadily sinking. Changes will be more the result of pragmatism and the result of the relations of forces in conflict around the question of the further road of development rather than around some conceptualized model.

It is certain that orientations (and, I repeat, it will not be any spectacular changes) will come from the administrative structure, from forums, from those who today have social power in Yugoslavia. But they, too, are conditioned by a whole series of accumulations of history and by the real problems of today. I cannot accept the thesis that it is a question of an...oligarchy which holds the system together only for the sake of its selfish interests in maintaining itself in power. One such narrow view of things was that of a well-known intellectual who presented to me his model of the way out of the crisis and the organization of society; I would be happy if I could live there [in such a place]. It was like some wonderful blue island!

An even greater mystification is when an outstanding Marxist asserts that one should just permit the working class to be on the political scene and it will draw all the solutions out of its subconscious, for the federation, the political and economic system, for the party.

A contradictory situation is at work. Also the new laws which have been enacted confirm how alive and tough is the tradition of regulating social relations by party directive and state regulation. But these forms of regulating society...are in serious crisis. Their power is weakening from day to day, among other things, because enormous changes are arising in the social consciousness; people, regardless of whether they are directors or ordinary citizens, are accepting these changes in a pragmatic, I would almost say, speculative, way, to the degree that they correspond to their interests. As these factors are being revived--and even those who are sending directives and making regulations are conscious of it--an area of spontaneity is opening up which is now somewhat larger for the first time since the war.

After liquidation of the faction at the beginning of the 1970's the concept of associated labor was formed with two main slogans; all income to the workers, to the OOURs (basic organizations of associated labor)--which is more radical than the earlier demand, [namely] the factories to the workers--and: all power to the delegate assemblies, which means that the process of decision-making should be transferred from the state-party structures to them. But everything was done in opposition to these two program goals. It is very easy and popular to say how the administrative [bureaucratic] sector worked against this. But I think that two other reasons are important. If the discussions and decision-making on social development want to be transferred to the delegate assemblies, then the delegates must constantly lead the dialogue, accept and also reject concepts offered to them. The political structure could not accept this because it was afraid that such a democratic discussion would open the door to renewing the discords from the political crisis of the 1970's. The discussions were blocked also because at the time we introduced the delegate system, the ZUR, and OURs, it was clear that the great men of the revolution were leaving the scene and the belief prevailed that when they leave there will be a new political situation which will activate all the potential opposition, so this was felt to be the most painless way for the transition period.

[DANAS]: There is the opinion that short terms of office but also collective work [leadership] as we practice it contributes to our bad situation, because allegedly they do not allow [enough] time for serious actions?

[B]: Long [terms of office] inevitably transform those who hold power in their hands into a separated social strata which subordinates the administration of the social processes to...--I will not say to their vulgar interests--but to their vision of social development which can, but does not have to be, good. Such a style of political life, which has no mechanism for questioning at least...daily policy, supports a static situation at the expense of dynamic development. Those who hold power, not from low impulses, but because of the specific position which separates them out can become too enclosed and not see changes in society. At the beginning of the 1950's in that violent wave of anti-Stalinism, we tried to go toward democratization, we did quite a bit, but when democratization opened up possibilities also for opponents (and in democratization this is inevitable), we stopped. Also at the beginning of the 1970's we did this. A defect is built into the political system which blocks promotion of the best and most capable, which is probably largely the result of our historical development. A society which has not passed through and experienced a bourgeois-constitutional stage carries with it an authoritarian and autocratic legacy and needs a longer time to overcome this in its growth.

Individuals, even also influential individuals, simply long to solve social problems as if it is a question of a Gordian knot. But this cutting [of the knot], this is constantly living with an undemocratic mentality.

[DANAS]: In the last few years and in recent months even more so, we have witnessed certain radicalizations in inter-nationality relations. How did this exceptional wave of nationalism come about; it is really, as some say, like a time bomb?

[B]: I would not venture to judge precisely how strong this wave [of nationalism] is or how long it will last. But it is entirely certain that the following thesis does not stand up; namely that it is a question of republic-provincial oligarchies which want, through nationalist policy, to get support in their regions or to acquire a monopoly in interpreting nationalist interests. Because this would then mean that the masses are nationalist. And one does not need to say how absurd this is. I would agree that the national factor is more manifested but very differently colored: from natural, normal national feeling of chauvinism, and within these there are...differing tendencies.

But seen historically, it can be said that a paradox exists: In contrast to all bourgeois parties in former Yugoslavia which were nationally colored or nationalistic, the Communist Party was almost cold toward national feeling and showed that only such a party [as it] could solve the national question of Yugoslavia. Although it advocated national states (since it believed that without national liberation there is no social liberation), it gave to them the strength of a view beyond the horizon of national states, toward the horizon of a world proletarian revolution. Secondly, the CP of Yugoslavia cultivated the unrealistic hope that nations would die out.

[Increased nationalism notwithstanding,] Yugoslavia will remain here where it is. Serbs will be there where they are now, Croats also, Slovenians, and others also, more or less mixed, but remaining where they are now. Only the system of linkages and relations among them will change; at times a little more sovereignty to members of the Federation, at times more power to organs of the Federation--such moves are possible. But it is certain that Yugoslavia is threatened...neither by big-state hegemonism in the old form nor by republic separatism.... It is sufficiently in the interest of each Yugoslav nation to live within Yugoslavia.

/9274

CSO: 2800/157

FAILURE TO UTILIZE FINDINGS OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES DEPILORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Nov 85 p 3

[Interview with Ramadan Garo, deputy chairman of Committee for Science and Technology, by Thimi Nika: "Scientific Studies Are Not an Aim in Themselves, They Are Executed To Be Put Into Practice"]

[Text] [Question] Now that we have successfully fulfilled the 7th 5-Year Plan for economic and cultural development, it would be of interest for our readers to learn about the most fruitful achievements of scientific research work in the most important sectors of the economy and about the way in which these studies have helped concretely in fulfilling the tasks of this 5-year plan.

[Answer] The characteristic feature of this 5-year plan is the raising of the quality of studies and projects to a new level and their enrichment with new scientific developments and advanced technologies.

Among the concrete achievements which have influenced the growth of industrial production during this 5-year plan, mention may be made of the discovery of well-known minerals and their more complex and efficient treatment, as well as the expansion and utilization of existing production capacities. Work has been done on the designing of over 20 projects or expansions in mineral enrichment and for an increase in the level of recovery of copper; a number of results have been achieved in steel production and work has been done to compile geologic, tectonic, and metallogenic maps. In the light and food industries, in addition to the study, designing, and reconstruction of a number of factories and projects, work has been done to introduce synthetic yarns and fibers in textiles, to improve the technology of oil refining, to process raw agricultural and residue materials, etc. In the field of chemistry, studies and plans have been made for doubling the production of sodium carbonate, expanding the production of sulphuric acid and phosphate fertilizers, enlarging the chemical enterprise in Durres, etc. A number of new products have been produced, such as pesticides, solvents, reagents, and other chemicals. In the machine industry, hydroturbines for small hydro-electric stations have been designed and produced; grouping of the production of parts according to technological similarities has been achieved in the "Enver Hoxha" Tractor Combine, etc. In the area of energy, studies and designs have been executed for lines and substations, for the replacement of

oil heaters with coal pulverized heaters, etc. In construction, advanced structures have been assimilated for large buildings for hydrotechnology, industry, public needs, and communications, and new technologies for construction materials have been studied and designed.

In agriculture, a number of varieties and hybrids have been created in grains, industrial crops, vegetables, and fodders, with 10-30 percent higher yields, and a number of new technologies have been introduced in production. In animal husbandry, all the needs of the country for genetic material have been satisfied and cattle breed improvement during the 5-year plan increased from 70 to 85 percent, etc.

[Question] The scientific work plan is part of the single state plan. Non-fulfillment of the scientific work plan certainly damages fulfillment of the economic plan as well. Comrade Ramadan, can we make this idea concrete? In concrete terms, who bears responsibility for this non-fulfillment?

[Answer] Despite the scientific achievements which I mentioned just now, scientific research work has not responded properly to all the tasks assigned, particularly in some areas, such as prospecting for oil and gas, where the research and design work is not at the required level. The indices of loss and impoverishment in some mines are still too high. There are many cases where, in technological design work, antiquated blueprints are used which have unsatisfactory technical and economic indices. In agriculture, scientific work still has shortcomings in regard to some industrial and fodder crops, vegetables, pastures, and, especially, in arboriculture, as well as in animal husbandry, with respect to breed improvement of goats, efficient feeding, apiculture, etc. This has its basis both in shortcomings during planning of scientific topics and the level of studies. The necessary attention, which is devoted to the economic plan, is not always devoted to the preparation of scientific topics. This has led to an omission of many important problems and, at the same time, to an inclusion of premature studies or fragmentary studies. As a result, on the balance sheet which is being drawn up for scientific work during the 5-year plan, there are a number of completed topics which are not implemented because they are premature or require large investments which the economy is unable to make today. These include, for example, the study of a production line for elevators and studies devoted to the enrichment of Katjeli chromite and of barite and fluorite. Institute No 2 has designed a number of projects which, at the moment, they have the time to execute.

There have been insufficient topics devoted to the struggle against corrosion and the introduction and expansion of some technologies in the light and food industries, such as those relating to bread, milk, shoes, clothes, furniture, etc.

In fulfilling the scientific work plan, delays are permitted, because of a poor accounting system and lack of control by the ministries and the scientific organisms themselves. Last year, many studies on the list of the Council of Ministers, were delayed and some of them were not concluded

according to the plan. The Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Education and Culture appeared in the worst light. These manifestations of non-fulfillment also occur in studies designated by ministries and institutions. On the 6-month balance sheet this year, on the list of the Council of Ministers alone, about 20 percent of the topics have been delayed.

[Question] It happens that a study is completed and, nevertheless, it is shut away in a drawer and does not see the light of application. What is the obstacle in a case like this? Is it bureaucracy, study bias or the tendency to become involved in science for the sake of science? What aims do you have for the next 5-year plan?

[Answer] Sometimes, studies are prevented from being put into practice by bureaucratic attitudes or by tendencies not to cause oneself difficulties and by weakness in the organizational aspect and in planning. There are studies which are not applied because they have no clear economic benefit, some are technologically backward or are premature for our conditions. Among the studies which have still not been applied are those of the Ministry of Energy on the production of laundering substances for the textile industry and on the production of lubricants for railroad car axles.

There are completed studies which are not put into practice because their economic effectiveness is unknown, such as those devoted to fire-clay, agave, gorse, and the production of mohair and silk, by the Institute of Study and Design of Light Industry and the Food Industry. The economic benefits of the production of micro-computers by the Ministry of Industry and Mines are also being delayed.

Through lack of knowledge of economic effectiveness or through lack of accomplishment of thorough and varied studies, there have been cases of projects with high norms of investment by research and design institutes for enrichment factories, for example, or for construction in the agriculture sector. With more thorough work by these institutes, the investments have been reduced. These facts make it necessary to re-examine the value of projects and special efforts must be made to combat tendencies to import materials when they can be obtained within the country. The State Planning Commission recently acted correctly when, after a comment made by the Committee for Science and Technology, it stopped the importation of a factory to make coal dust briquettes and thus brought savings to the economy.

In the next 5-year plan, as in this one, studies will have a primarily applicable character, in support of tasks of the economic plan. At the same time, studies will also be carried out to prepare for the future and long-range studies will be made for the compilation of the draft plan of the 9th 5-Year Plan.

12,249/9599
CSO: 2100/12

SOFTWARE EXHIBITION IN BUDAPEST

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian No 49, 5 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by P. Sz.: "Software Mirror"]

[Text] Vibrating screens, softly humming printers and tempting video recorder pictures received computer technology experts for four days at the Intercontinental Hotel. Among the dozen computer technology exhibits a special place was occupied by Software '86, for here the software products were not only displayed, they were competing too.

Fifty-six exhibitors, 100 business deals signed and 20,000 visitors. The balance of the software fair held for the second time this year could be summed up so briefly, but going beyond the statistical data this fair was also a faithful mirror of the future and present of domestic computer technology.

Even today the Hungarian software market is ruled by products prepared for individual orders despite the fact that there are already thousands of micro and minicomputers. One could prepare program packages for these machines which could be used in several places--adapted to the needs--and thus reduce the costs of development to a minimum with the purchase of software. By putting programs satisfying the needs of many users on the market software becomes truly a commodity which not only can be purchased and used economically but also can be compared in price and quality. This favorable trend, the fact of software "becoming a commodity," could be observed at this year's Software fair.

The stands of exhibitors had 250 different types of software from simple record keeping programs to complex operating systems. It is true that only 22 of these could be purchased on the spot. Most of the programs were developed for microcomputers but 10 percent were for minicomputers. The assortment was a good bit broader than the offering of earlier years and for the first time there were microcomputer programs suitable for production control. An official competition anticipated the rivalry among several similar products. The value and utility of the products of firms appearing at the exhibit could be certified at a competition involving real monetary awards from the Ministry of Industry. A committee made up of famous experts awarded three products with a first prize, three with a second prize and five with a third prize. It is an interesting phenomenon that of the 11 prizes seven were won by economic work

associations, small cooperatives and individual developers, easing out the famous--and large--software manufacturing firms.

One of the first prizes--attaching to the names of Pal Rudas, Tibor Boros and Pal Boros--went to a database management program called dAccess III, which the creators first sold in the FRG, and with very great success. It is characteristic of the success of the program, sold more than 250 times on the West German market, that a number of famous computer factories--including Atari, Apricot and Siemens--want to buy it.

The professional public could meet for the first time with a production control system developed in the Szekesfehervar factory of Ikarus. At present the system, developed for larger machine factories and plants using production lines, is used in the final assembly halls of the factory in Budapest and Szekesfehervar. With its aid it will be possible to provide daily "rations" of work with an evenly paced delivery of parts and subassemblies. According to a survey by the manufacturers it will be possible to reduce lost time by 15-20 percent by using the program package.

The Compudrug small cooperative, known abroad primarily for its chemical program packages, also appeared with several new items. One item of software received with great interest makes possible the computerized processing of the patent system on professional microcomputers. At present users can retrieve 11,000 Hungarian patents with its aid. Their database system named VIOLA makes the intermediary databases of the domestic chemical industry accessible to users.

Many people also looked up the exhibit of the Data-Manager small cooperative. The reason for the great interest was that this undertaking, formed in the recent past, offers complex service for computer technology users, from consulting to machine acquisition and running programs. What distinguishes it from other firms formed for a similar task is that the small cooperative, consisting of a few people, does not manufacture or develop but only gives advice. It selects the machine type and software best suiting the needs of the customer, and so really acts as a sort of manager.

One had to wait until the last day for the most significant business deal of the fair. This was a contract for nearly 200,000 rubles signed by SZAMALK [Computer Technology Applications Enterprise], Metrimpex and the leaders of the Soviet ELORG. According to this contract the Soviet and Hungarian parties will fill a framework contract with mutual software deliveries in 1986. This deal will probably be a milestone in the history of the computer technology of socialist countries for there has not yet been an example of software deliveries of this magnitude in the trade of the two countries.

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CSO: 2500/165

DIRECTOR OF SCIENCE ORGANIZATION, INFORMATION INSTITUTE

Budapest HETIVILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 50, 14 Dec 85 p 55

[Unsigned article in "Portrait" section; the two paragraph biography is followed by an interview with Gyorgy Paris, director of the Science Organization and Informatics Institute]

[Text] When we inquired about his jobs he proudly noted, "Never in my life have I taken the job of another, I always went into a position that did not exist before." Gyorgy Paris was born in Budapest on 15 November 1934. He attended the Fasor Evangelical Gymnazium and then graduated from the Imre Madach Gymnazium. In 1958 he completed his studies in physics at the Lorand Eotvos Science University. He felt attracted to geophysics and wrote his diploma thesis on geophysical measurements. Following this, in 1959, he went into the Factory for Geophysical Measuring Instruments as head of the isotope laboratory. Here he dealt with development of instruments based on radiocactive principles useful in deep drillings. Following the reorganization of the factory he went into the Central Research Laboratory for Optics and Precision Engineering and from 1965 he was scientific secretary of the Technical Physics Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. "I worked with such physicists and academicians as Gyorgy Szigeti, Erno Winter and Tivadar Milner. These years left deep impressions on me, even today," he said about this phase of his career.

There was a new change in 1968, he became a colleague of the Science Organization Group of the Academy. When the office and the Academy bodies separated Gyorgy Paris, 36 years old and without an advanced scientific degree, became chief of the natural sciences main department of the Central Office and in 1974, at the request of Karoly Polinszky, he transferred to an assignment as main department chief in the Ministry of Education. In 1980 he left this job to head the Science Organization and Informatics Institute, formed then, and he has been director of it since as a chief ministry adviser. He is the official apostle of the school computer program. He is chairman of the informatics committee of the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge and a member of the national presidium of the Janos Neumann Scientific Computer Society. He holds the Neumann Medal of the above named society and the Prometheus Prize of the Lorand Eotvos Physics Society. His hobbies are excursions and travel. He is raising five children.

[Question] Why did you decide to leave research and become an organizer of science?

[Answer] That was 20 years ago. What happened was that I could not realize my research ideas so I had no other choice but to change careers.

[Question] Are you satisfied with what you have been doing since?

[Answer] Organization is vital to me, I always liked to get things moving, but it is certain that developing instruments is not the same thing as dealing with science organization, because these achievements do not appear in a tangible form so often it is only after a long time that it is proved whether my measures were correct. And actually I am always dissatisfied. Although it would not be true to say, for example, that the results thus far of the school computer program do not inspire me.

[Question] You became an institute director after having been a chief official in a ministry. Was this a career step or a fall?

[Answer] In no way was it a fall. I have been doing the same thing since 1974; then I was chief of a main department in the Ministry of Education, now I direct an institute. In certain respects I am more independent than when I was in the ministry.

[Question] What do you regard as unconditionally your own merit? Is there some achievement in domestic computer technology culture which would not have been realized without you and your institute?

[Answer] I would prefer to say that certain things were accelerated because the institute embraced them. We had a significant part in seeing that regional computer centers were formed in higher education and in seeing that the teaching of automated engineer design spread in the country. Together with many other institutions and organizations we were also initiators of the school computer program. We spread the research competition system in higher education.

[Question] What are you responsible for as a director?

[Answer] Essentially for everything which the institute does. I am responsible for national coordination of programs connected with teaching computer technology. I am also responsible for seeing that we get better, and cheaper, computers for the school computer program. We also do the technical take-over of computers coming into the program from abroad. I consider it important that the institute has prepared a number of proposals pertaining to the research work of higher education institutions, proposals which were accepted, and so it was our task to see that what was contained in them was realized. I am also responsible for taking care of the administrative affairs of those going to work abroad from the universities and colleges belonging to the Ministry of Culture.

[Question] Do you not feel that it is a contradiction that essentially you are proposing things for the realization of which there is not sufficient money available?

[Answer] Everything is relative. The government has now decided on the program to spread electronics, and it appears from this that they will provide for this purpose three times the earlier expenditures. Of course, one could really ask: Why just this much, why not four or five times as much? But we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that at this moment the country can bear just this much of a burden.

[Question] What is your opinion about those brakes which put obstacles before the domestic spread of computer culture?

[Answer] To this day I do not understand why education still has to pay an 11 percent turnover tax on computers. A duty has to be paid on equipment obtained from abroad, although it is true that if the education ministry brings it into the country itself then the duty is disregarded.

[Question] Do you feel any responsibility for the fact that the experts creating software are more or less idle here--or are being exported?

[Answer] There are tasks for the solution of which there are no suitable machines in Hungary, and so some of the programs can be prepared only abroad. Another problem is that we have too many types of machines here, and this scatters the developmental capacity. And, unfortunately, the people making software are interested primarily in research and development and not in producing "mass products."

[Question] From whom did you learn the most?

[Answer] It was from Academician Gyorgy Szigeti primarily that I learned humanity. From Tibor Erdey-Gruz, once first secretary of the Academy, I learned precision and work discipline. But I might also mention Karoly Polinszky, Ferenc Erdei, Bela Kopeczi or Pal Tetenyi, the present chairman of the National Technical Development Committee. Every one of them was a strict boss and set high requirements.

[Question] Do you work with a computer?

[Answer] However odd it may sound, I do not, personally. But we do use computers widely in our institute and the workers in the institute secretariat themselves use computer word processors.

[Question] Are you trained on computers?

[Answer] Yes, but in my work I use only the results provided; not everyone can be a professional computer technician.

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CSO: 2500/165

YOUTH ISSUES CONTINUE TO DEMAND PRESS ATTENTION

Kozakiewicz Book on Youth Reviewed Well

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Sep 85 p 4

[Review by Zbyslaw Rykowski of book "Młodzież w okresie przełomów" [Youth in a Period of Upheavals] by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1985, 10,000 copies, 291 pages; passages in slantlines in boldface in text]

[Excerpts] Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz is a unique phenomenon in our political life. He gained popularity owing to his public activities at a time when public activities were not popular. He is a member of the political establishment, but he is independent. He has not shared the fate of many other professors who either limited their participation in the institutions of the authorities to adorning and legitimizing themselves with honorific titles (and opportunism) or, discouraged by the failure of the game, given the perpetuated rules of that game, quit and returned to their ivory towers.

Kozakiewicz proclaims the need for the existence of a constructive opposition within the system, construed as the right to criticism, which should always belong to individuals and organizations and be utilized by them, and at the same time be respected by those criticized. He not only promotes installing such a corrective mechanism in our political system but also shows how opposition is to be practiced in accord with the principles of that system. In countless interviews, comments and articles he has restated his position. His attitude, which formerly might be viewed as naive and quixotic, nowadays is respected for its consistency, and pertinacity.

Kozakiewicz has won for himself a position which it would be difficult to deprive him of without harm to the credibility of the democratizing tendencies.

The latest book by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz bears the title, "Youth in a Period of Upheavals." It might seem that thereby that "homo politicus" is resuming his professional his professional role of an educational and pedagogical sociologist. But already the first few pages of that book convince the reader that there are no two separate Kozakiewiczzes, one a politician and the other an academic. There is only one. The reader also becomes convinced that the author's known views on the organization of political life and on political practice stems from his own theoretical research and thinking.

In his book Kozakiewicz attempts to analyze the educational crisis, which did not begin in 1980 but rather had been growing since the 1960's. He accounts for the phenomenon of youth, so exotic to older people, and he explains what distinguishes young people from the rest of the society -- mentality, customs and also specific needs and interests. Above all, however, he points to the situation of youth in an "educating society" which has become subject to disorganization, including moral and ideational disorganization.

"The youth problem" will be solved neither by a paternalist policy nor by establishing a reservation that offers conditions especially favorable for the flourishing of youth. What should be cured is the cause rather than the symptoms of "the malaise of youth." Kozakiewicz states: "Given our historical situation, to me the only way out is precisely a gradual but energetic elimination of that 'societal disorganization' which underlies all the alarming symptoms, among our youth as well. For the 'youth order' hinges principally on the 'social order,' provided that that 'order' be not interpreted as squeezing the society 'by force' into a framework that has long since been too narrow for it and rejected by it; rather, it should be interpreted as a broadening of the framework (of structures, institutions, methods of action) in a manner acceptable to the society, which would receive tangible proof that a transformed Poland is indeed implementing the fundamental premises and values of socialism in acceptable ways, i. e., in ways respecting the pluralism of that society, its national and individual aspirations, the feeling of human dignity and lastly the real and paramount role of the individual in the state."

Proceeding from this premise, the author condemns pedagogical moralizing and sermonizing tendencies. The concept of forming the moral domain as cultivated by Polish schools is condemned to failure in view of the universal reign of a double morality. The author champions the sovereignty of the teacher. He opposes make-believe school self-government and its demoralizing facadism. He defends the primacy of youth, but he also has no illusions that the school can be an oasis of self-government. "School self-government may undergo a renaissance once genuine self-government (rather than selfwill and anarchy!) is reborn throughout the country in every domain of life and at all levels."

The book consists of three parts, each different in form. Part One contains studies and essays on theory. Part Two supports and illustrates the author's statements by presenting biographies of particular young people who chose (or were steered toward) various directions of life. Part Three, the least interesting, contains reprints of the author's interviews with educators and young people from the West; they are intended to persuade the reader that the educational crisis is not solely endemic to Poland.

Historian Considers Notion of Patriotism

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Sep 85 pp 4,5

[Interview with Professor Marian Marek Drozdowski, historian, by Wacław Opacki (text unauthorized following abridgment): "Dialogue"]

[Text] [Question] From time to time we are told of the necessity of taking an offensive in the field of patriotic education. But I believe that this is not something that can be rushed through. Let me ask you whether you too think that patriotism should be mentioned with special tact and caution?

[Answer] Caution is imposed on us by the fact of the instrumental exploitation of this concept. Nearly everyone speaks of patriotism, and nearly every ideological and political orientation presumes having a monopoly on patriotism, regardless of whether it indeed does or does not actually represent a patriotic movement.

[Question] What then do you consider to be a patriotic attitude?

[Answer] It is an attitude of respect for those national traditions which are sympathetic toward our being open to the cultural accomplishments of mankind, as well as toward tolerance and respect for others combined with a feeling of responsibility for our own country, society and community given the particular existing political and social conditions.

[Question] Is the patriotic tradition an element of education?

[Answer] Undoubtedly yes, but on the other hand it will not replace the propagation of the toil of gaining that knowledge of the reality which one must have the courage to gain on his own. It is thus necessary to know how to compare different sources of knowledge of the reality so as not to become confused and not to say later that "certain things had been unknown." As in the past so at present we [as a nation] paid very dearly for such a failure to orient ourselves in the reality. A genuine patriotic attitude implies understanding the interests of other nations and states as well as exploring rational compromises among them.

[Question] Is today's youth just as differentiated politically as the society as a whole?

[Answer] I think so. We are dealing with young people who accept and identify themselves with our statehood system, young people who support the so-called legal opposition but accept our Constitutional principles, and young people dreaming of another kind of statehood. Hence the richness of social life and the complex picture of the political map of present-day Poland, both among the rising generation and among the older generation. I also think that youth is more sensitized than the older generation to the contradictions between ideals and reality. Youth is not prone toward compromises, and at the same time it is demanding. For this it deserves credit, because it represents a potential force toward progress. It would like to change this world more rapidly in various directions.

[Question] And what is the basic direction?

[Answer] The dominant direction is that of greater emphasis on the primacy of the society, e.g., by making school and student self-governments more autonomous, advocating the participation of students in holding the reins of academe, etc. The ethos of democratic Polish society dominates the views of

youth, which is more resistant than the older generation toward accepting the status quo.

[Question] Is it true that, as some declare, a vacuum as regards knowledge of history exists in the minds of contemporary youth?

[Answer] No. Of course, there are primitive, materialistically minded and self-motivated individuals, but they are in the minority. Most young people feel concerned about the future of the Republic. So far, despite criticism, they have been demonstrating considerable maturity in the presence of a crisis which could have taken a much more dramatic and tragic turn. Young people gave their trust to the leaders of informal elites appealing for reason and moderation rather than for unleashing moods of hatred and unrest. It is only in marginal cases that it has been otherwise.

[Question] Does this demonstrate the social maturity of youth?

[Answer] This points to some maturity. I represent the orientation of faith in youth and respect for it. Youth has the right to ask questions which we ourselves have been unable to answer. The older generation, and not only the government, bears responsibility for the present situation. Thus, from the vantage point of time, we old activists of the Association of Polish Students and the Union of Polish Youth -- of which I was a member -- acknowledge the values of our fathers and feel proud that they had been, e.g. Legionnaires [i.e., members of Pilsudski's Polish Legion, which later defeated the Soviet Army in 1920] and fought for independence. Now we realize that the Second Republic [1918-1939] has not been merely a catalogue of disasters and defeats but also a period of accomplishments in many domains of life.

[Question] Will our present-day era be similarly re-evaluated only after the passage of, say, 10 years?

[Answer] What is authentic and valuable in our postwar achievements, and what has been accomplished by millions of people (including the ZMP members) will, years later, be appreciated in a more objective manner; it will simply sooner or later rise to the surface. Illusory successes will be rejected. This is a natural process characteristic of not only our era, and a historian who follows the history of the economy and legal institutions observes it calmly. However, the time frame of that re-evaluation is difficult to define.

[Question] Is it possible to provide an unbiased and objective picture of Poland's postwar crises?

[Answer] Total objectivity is not feasible, just as there is no objective history. Every movement and orientation stresses certain values while discarding others. Beneath the surface of the surging social emotions in our quotidian and sometimes very bitter toil, the fate of our Republic -- the homeland of all Poles regardless of their changing political views -- is being decided.

Teaching of 'Worldviews' Urged

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Andrzej Nierychlo: "Etc."]

[Text] Youth's knowledge of and views on the structure of the universe and the laws governing it (that is, the ontological aspect of world outlook) usually are characterized by inward contradictions. For on the one hand, youth has fragmentary academic knowledge of the world, gained while at school, while on the other hand its vision of the world and of its genesis is conditioned by religious education due to the influence of family environment and the at present nearly universal provision of religious instruction to youth.

At higher educational institutions philosophical interpretation of the achievements of particular disciplines is a rarity unless instruction in philosophy is concerned. But the need to plan a curriculum, on the one hand, and the need to earn credit hours, on the other, cause courses in philosophy to become yet another specific study subject in which credit hours have to be earned rather than to provide a general vision of the world.

As regards youth's views on the society (the sociological aspect of world outlook), the matter looks somewhat different. Youth has some sociological knowledge, gained while in secondary schools and at youth organizations as well as from the reading of newspapers and popular-scientific publications. On the other hand, young people are poorly informed about the relationship of religion to social questions, although they may be conversant with the problem of the role of the Church in the society.

Curriculums provide a substantial dose of sociological knowledge, but it is not integrated in an operative form and at best it is suitable for recitation during oral examinations rather than for any independent analysis of the society and its changes.

But it is the sources of youth's knowledge of the place of man in the world and the choice of a hierarchy of moral values (that is, concerning the anthropological and axiological aspects of world outlook) that are the most complex. They consist of: knowledge gained from courses in humanistics, literary and artistic knowledge, religious propositions, and lastly knowledge gained from social intercourse, from observations of family and work environment and from personal experience. A majority of young people derive, unconsciously even, their general view of man and fundamental moral norms from the assumptions of religion. Role models are most often reflections of literary knowledge. In both these cases, besides, the components of world outlook are of a declarative nature.

School curriculums completely ignore this entire sphere, most likely owing to respect for the autonomy of the individual. But is this really justified?

The foregoing -- and of necessity greatly abridged and simplified -- review of the situation as regards forming the world-outlook convictions of that part of youth whose formal education lasts the longest proves that there is a field

for action in this respect at higher educational institutions. It should also be considered that in the last few years these institutions even beat a retreat to previously unplanned positions. A similar regression is observable as regards the programs of action of the student movement, which has even literally cut itself off from any attempt to influence the world outlook of youth. It seems high time to rethink this....

Academic Self-Government Reviewed

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Skrzypczak: "The Shape of Academic Self-Government" under the rubric "In the New Year"]

[Text] /In the coming academic year higher educational institutions will operate on a new legal basis, defined by the updated decree on higher education passed by the Sejm on 25 July of this year along with a package of other decrees regulating the operating principles of academe. In the coming school year it is worthwhile to consider more closely the scope of the changes being introduced/

Elections of Top Administrators

Top administrators of higher educational institutions will continue to be elected. With the proviso that /the rector and the prorectors are elected by the senate and not, as previously, by the senate or a collegium of electors. This serves above all to markedly shorten the electoral procedure by not involving in it the entire school community, which in the past had complicated the implementation of the principal tasks of higher educational institutions/ rectorship nominated by the senate. This will eliminate the rise of unnecessary tensions which used to happen when the minister objected against an already elected rector. Similarly, the minister has the right to express his opinion on the candidates for prorectors, nominated by the rector-elect for election by the senate. /The deans and assistant deans are elected by faculty councils following principles analogous to those applying to the election of rectors/ This makes it possible, among other things, for the rector to influence the staffing of the posts of deans, and for the deans to influence the staffing of the posts of assistant deans, which should produce a positive effect on cooperation among administrative teams at higher educational institutions.

The former obligation of consulting student representatives about candidates for deans of students and assistant deans of students has been voided. For it turned out that quite often student representatives refused to approve those professors or docents who were known for their conscientious and highly demanding attitude toward students, not to mention the occasional impossibility of reaching a consensus among students on the academic instructors nominated as candidates for these posts.

Membership of Senates and Faculty Councils

/The share of professors and docents in the membership of collegial bodies of higher educational institutions was raised to a minimum of 70 percent. It is these most qualified and most experienced academic instructors that are decisive to the ranking and importance of the higher educational institution. It is they also who are responsible for the level of academic work and the instructional and upbringing process. Thus they should be afforded a legally guaranteed decisive influence on all the spheres of activity of the higher educational institution/

Student representatives to senates and faculty councils are /representatives of national student and youth organizations and chairpersons of corresponding bodies of student self-government/ Previously student representatives were, in theory, elected by all students. In practice, attendance at such elections had as a rule been inadequate. It is to be expected that this change in the procedure for selecting student representatives to collegial bodies will reduce electoral disturbances and at the same time assure an active participation of youth representatives in the work of the collegial bodies.

The Statute and the Powers of Top Administrators

The principal regulations governing the operation of a higher educational institution will be, as before, its /statute, passed by the senate. This will safeguard the uniqueness of every individual higher educational institution and of its choice and determination of its own research and instructional activities/ The legal change in this respect consists in that the minister is obligated to draft a model statute. (Nota bene, such a statute has already been drafted by the minister of science and higher education.) The minister also has the duty of verifying whether the statutes drafted by discrete higher educational institutions are in compliance with the law and the provisions of the model statute.

And while previously the decisionmaking rights of top administrators had been formally limited to, basically, representative and implementing functions, now /they have been correspondingly extended to the scope of their responsibility for the activities of the school and the principles of efficient management/. The need for a more precise definition of the division of powers between top administrators and collegial bodies was dictated by the limited scope for initiative by administrators, due to their numbers and the low frequency of sessions. Besides, moreover, at these sessions too little attention used to be devoted to matters of basic importance to the work of the school, matters relating to scientific research, instruction and upbringing. /Hence also the revised decree states unambiguously that the higher educational institution is directed by the rector. It is he who is responsible for the whole of its activities as well as for the quality and effects of the performance of its personnel. It is he also who determines the material-financial plans of the higher educational institution and exercises control over all domains of its activity. The powers of the deans have been similarly revised/

However, the collegial bodies retain their powers regarding matters fundamental to the functioning and development of the higher educational

institution. The senate, e.g., not only has the sole right to vote the statute and the curriculum but also determines the basic directions of activity of the higher educational institution and defines the magnitude and scope of the consulting and other services provided by the higher educational institution. It also retains broad opinionmaking powers.

Representatives of the PZPR and allied political parties operating on the campuses are full members of the collegial bodies. This assures enabling the campus branches of the party and the allied political parties to influence the directions of development and personnel policies of the higher educational institution and augments their responsibility for the directions and results of the basic activity of the institution. This should contribute to linking the work of higher educational institutions more broadly to meeting regional and national needs.

/The competences of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education remain unchanged, except that some of its decisionmaking powers were supplanted with opinionmaking powers/ The Council defines, among other things, the main directions of scientific research and of the training and development of academic personnel as well as drafts of plans of scientific research. Its legislative powers regarding higher education have been broadened by now granting to it the right to issue opinions on all implementing regulations issued on the basis of the decree on higher education.

The Rights and Duties of the Minister

The competences of the minister are defined in the decrees on higher education and on academic degrees and titles as well as in the decree on the office of the minister of science and higher education. With respect to the principal domains of activity of higher educational institutions, these competences can be summarized as follows: /The minister, exercising his supervisory powers, participates in programming the development of higher educational institutions and higher education. He monitors the effectiveness of performance of higher educational institutions and has the right to intervene in cases in which that performance does not correspond to the institution's possibilities or to social and state needs and tasks. The minister supervises adherence to the laws in force. He promotes the creation of material, personnel and organizational conditions favorable to the development of higher schools and higher educational institutions/

The paramount goal to which the entire comprehensive regulation of the legal basis of higher education and academe is subordinated reduces to /the creation of conditions for a fuller utilization of the potential of higher educational institutions for promoting the country's socioeconomic development. Academic self-government construed as the factual and formal possibility of autonomous operation of higher educational institutions should be linked to the legal system mandatory in Poland, inclusive of the entire sphere of instruction and the training of academic personnel/

The linkage of a broad and rationally structured academic self-government to the indispensable scope of influence of the state authorities on the directions of development and activity of higher educational institutions is

creating new possibilities. Their practical utilization hinges on the activism of academic communities, on their proper understanding of the interests of both the higher schools and the country.

PRON's Forum of Young Generation Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Olszewski: "According to the Laws of Youth: The PRON Forum of the Rising Generation"]

[Excerpts] Fixed and unchanging forms of work with youth within the framework of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for Poland's Rebirth] have not so far been developed and surely never will be. By now it is known, though, that the younger members of the PRON have been cultivating unconventional methods of action, with proposals directed to the entire Polish youth irrespective of the views and organizational membership of individuals and groups/

/The PRON's program of work with youth rests on two basic assumptions. The first is the conduct of political dialogue/ during which, at joint meetings, discussants holding differing views, e.g., Marxists and Catholics, present their rationales. The freedom of speech is total. /The other goal is that of concrete and, one might say, positivist work for the country in which, after all, we live and shall continue to live/

It might seem that these assumptions are too vague. Yet astonishingly enough /they met with a lively response from youth in every community/

Controversies, But Under One Roof

/It began with an inaugural meeting of young PRON activists late last year, and this activity already acquired a specific form at the First National Meet of Young PRON Activists held on 9 June of this year in the Hall of Columns of the PRL Sejm. The formal name of that meet was the Forum of the Rising Generation/ The chief of the All-Polish Program Council for the Forum is Zbigniew Obidowski, a young man employed at the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Welfare.... He stated more or less as follows:

"People, and particularly young people, often confuse the concept of politics with that of world outlook. Sometimes they simply consider them identical. But these are two separate concepts. In our movement we would like go achieve political unity, although we are not imposing it, but as for questions of world outlook we consider them to be personal. They are the private affair of every individual, and this privacy must be respected.... We want young people to understand... that the good of our country, which has lately been greatly undermined, depends on our working together. It does not matter who will extract a ton of coal and who thresh a sheaf of rye. We all share the coal and the bread. This of course is a terse summing-up of the premises of our movement."

In the meantime many youth meetings have been held in Warsaw and in the provinces, in cities and in towns.... They discuss matters of quotidian concern to them. Later, they bring to their own communities -- schools, higher educational institutions, youth organizations -- the recommendations reached as a result of these discussions.

Recently in Warsaw, e. g., was held another Forum of the Rising Generation, the 10th already. By tradition, young people gather at the PRON Building on Ujazdowskie Boulevard. Every seat there is always filled on such occasions.... Of course, such meetings could have been organized in a larger auditorium, but then they would lose their discussive nature and, besides, their organizers attach no importance to holding mere public rallies.

Talks, But Also Work

/The topics of the meetings so far have varied greatly. One agreed upon topic, "How to Live," proved to be incredibly controversial, provoking and polemical, because this concerns both moral and material values. Another topic, "Is the Polish Society a Tolerant One?" also spurred lively and nonbanal discussion. The next topic is, "How Do I Visualize Poland in 1990?"

It has by now become a tradition to determine the topic and date of the next meeting following the discussion. In Warsaw the discussion meetings are held on every last Saturday of the month -- this was the principle adopted.

/This year several joint camps were organized for youth from various communities. At these camps summer vacations were combined with candid discussion and work at harvesting, in the forests, at production plants and on farms..../

If this work is so specific, this is an assumption of the Movement and it is precisely this that is to the liking of youth. Youth likes to observe the effects of its work....

Without a Monologue, Presentation of Papers and Voting

/Regardless of the nature of the camp, meeting or one gathering or another, the discussion among youth is always lively and unstereotyped/ These meetings are not held for the purpose of presenting lectures or instruction. They are held in the absence of presentation of papers or reports or voting. Many of these meetings are jointly attended by representatives of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Association of Polish Students, the Union of Rural Youth, the Polish Scout Association and other organizations active among youth, and they also are attended by many unaffiliated young people. The discussion is sometimes very sharp and the comments are controversial. But that is exactly the point.

Young people of differing views sense at these meetings their opportunity and avail themselves of it increasingly often and with an activism at that which refutes the views that our youth lacks idealism.

/Young people live in this country and want to form it according to their own

notions. True enough, they may be aggressive, hot-tempered, guileful and overemotional, but that is all right. Such is the right of youth.

Projected 'Youth Regulations' Discussed

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 4

[Interview with Kazimierz Janik, Vice Chairman of the National Board of the Union of Rural Youth, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "The Need for Popular Support: Concerning the Draft Decree on Youth"]

[Excerpts] [Question] What new things for youth are contained in a decree of this kind? Its discussion has been prolonged and consistently controversial.

[Answer] This is not a decree on youth, contrary to the colloquial name of that document used in its discussion. To be exact, it is "Assumptions Concerning the Draft Decree on Broadening the Participation of Youth in the Nation's Sociopolitical, Economic and Cultural Life." This act is thus intended not to isolate youth from the society by bestowing privileges on it but to promote its more active participation in all domains of the nation's life. After all, absence of proactivism always harms any generation, and hence this issue concerns the entire society.

[Question] I'm apprehensive that this decree in itself cannot accomplish it, for words are words but the implementation depends on the human element.

[Answer] Of course, this decree of itself will not accomplish these things. For the time being we want to discuss its assumptions in every social milieu....The final text of this document will, after all, hinge on the Sejm deputies. The discussion of the "Assumptions" should stimulate many new ideas as to how youth itself and its organizations can participate more actively in the life of this country, how can apathy, passivity, consumerist attitudes and selfish demands be overcome....

[Question] Does the decree resolve the question of the participatory role of the rising generation?

[Answer] The decree brings into order the principal rights and duties of youth; it is a catalogue of matters to be settled. In addition, it poses specific tasks to socialist youth associations in their capacity as spokesmen for the interests of the rising generation.

[Question] The rising generation or the members of these associations?

[Answer] The rising generation. The decree also refers to and concerns the entire youth, not just that associated in our organizations.

[Question] What will the promulgation of that decree mean to the chairperson of a local branch of the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth]?

[Answer] It will impose the duty of individualized treatment of the postulates and initiatives of youth by the officers of the organization -- of that

branch. The young man must be consulted on all decisions concerning him, on all draft documents, just as specified in Theses 20 and 21 of "Assumptions." Similarly, the organization's officers must inform the young man about the procedure for settling particular matters, and all representatives of the branch -- not necessarily the chairperson -- must participate in the decisionmaking process. This concerns not only the ZMW but also other youth organizations and groups which desire to engage in civic activities and have ideas on how to do it. The "Assumptions" also accept the conduct of economic activities by youth organizations in the form of enterprises and participation in joint stock companies, mixed enterprises and cooperatives, and it also sanctions various forms of patronage by our Union over youth-managed producer cooperatives and housing construction. This means that what our youth organizations have already commenced doing is now approved by the supreme law of the land. These provisions also are important to youth-managed housing construction, which is highly essential, in the countryside as well.

[Question] This is economic participation, but what about political?

[Answer] In imposing on the administration the duty of consulting our organizations about any legal acts concerning youth and making possible our participation in decisionmaking, the decree makes possible the participation of youth. The utilization of that possibility is up to us ourselves, up to youth. Authority is gained by action, by activism, alone -- there is no substitute for it. The decree will mainly contribute to abolishing formal obstacles to the implementation of youth's initiatives.

[Question] How do the decree's premises concern the aktiv of youth associations?

[Answer] The decree spells out the tasks facing our associations. It enumerates our obligations, but without infringing on our organizational autonomy. Our rights are explicitly stated in Theses 20 and 21, which name youth organizations partners of the state administration.

[Question] Won't you turn into trade unions of youth?

[Answer] This question returns to us like a boomerang; how often the representation of youth's interests is mentioned. That representation concerns also the social sphere, but not only that -- this is a question of the place of youth in political and social life, of its participation in governing. But in addition to their upbringing and ideological tasks, youth associations must also reflect the generation's social interests. This also is a political task.

We hope that this decree will not win the support of youth for youth's sake alone.... It would be difficult to speak of building Poland with the efforts of the older generations without the participation, or with merely a moderate participation, of young people who, after all, account for nearly one half of the labor force. Provided that this decree wins full public support, the Union of Rural Youth will back it.

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SPOILED CHILDREN, SELFISH YOUTH, CLAIMS READER

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Sep 85 p 12

[Article by Jerzy Chmielewski, Zielona Gora]

[Text] "Crisis Children." We hear everywhere the opinion that youth lacks ideals and is vain and too consumerist. But whose fault is it? Ours, of course. It is the fault of us adults, of course. It is we who raise such children. True, things are difficult and this situation will still continue. On the other hand, it is enough to look at the Polish streets and people.

When a "Polonia" tour group from Canada was asked what struck them most about the streets of Polish cities, nearly all answered that it was the freedom of the inhabitants, their fashionable and expensive clothing and their general good grooming. And above all, they were impressed by the children, so handsome and so tastefully dressed. At the same time they were surprised, considering that a crisis is supposed to exist in Poland. The PEWEX stores in Zielona Gora are mostly frequented by youth, often by kids, who knowingly inspect the merchandise and... buy it. In boutiques with merchandise of foreign origin also it is rare to see elderly customers. There too very young people enter and, when leaving, carry out some or other expensive merchandise.

Doting parents wear themselves to a frazzle, moonlight and work overtime, engage in illegal trade in hard currencies, and sometimes simply steal. They do all this in order to, among other things, show off their children, dress them showily and endow them with what may seem independence but in reality is boastfulness, arrogance and nonchalance toward their peers, and not only toward them. Restaurants are crowded with precisely these crisis children who fling money around. Whence do they get that money? The answer is not difficult. The parents are submissive and do not want to hurt their children's feelings.

But statistics do not lie. Nearly every fourth child in the senior classes of elementary schools regularly drinks alcohol and smokes (girls too). This is how it begins -- the descent to the margin of life, alienation from one's peers and the community, and drug addiction. From there is but a small step to misfortune (instances of suicide). Are not we adults mainly to blame for this situation? Are not we too absorbed in our children, in their material present, to perceive how greatly we are crippling them morally, sometimes to an irreversiblenextent?

YOUTH, STUDENT ISSUES DISCUSSED

Student Self-Government Rights

Warsaw ITD in Polish 3 Nov 85 pp 4,5

[Article by Wojciech Jedrzejewski: "The Autodidact"]

[Text] The new academic year brought a change in the operating principles of student self-government. They are set down in the "Ordinance of the Minister of Science and Higher Education Concerning the Principles for the Formation and Operation of Student Self-Government" and in the "General Bylaws of Student Self-Government." Both documents define precisely the tasks, structure and obligations of student self-government and the principles and procedure for electing its representatives.

The domain of action of self-government is the academic institution and the student dormitories and housing projects. Outside these, activities of student self-government are possible only through the mediation or under the auspices of the rector or as authorized by him.

Student self-government reflects the opinions of students on matters within the scope of its competences. It is co-responsible for the implementation of tasks of the higher educational institution as regards education and upbringing, and hence it is an organic part of academic life. To this end, it is assumed that its representatives shall be seated in the department councils and the academic senate, with the right to cast the deciding vote. A representative of the self-government of the student dormitory or the student housing project shall also sit in the senate of the higher academic institution.

Elections to student self-government bodies shall be on principles of equality and by secret balloting. The elections are valid when more than one-half of the student body participates in them, and when a candidate obtains more than one-half of the valid votes. The right to vote belongs to every student, while the right to run for an office belongs to students who do not repeat a year of studies and have not been punished by a legal verdict of a disciplinary commission or a peer court.

The self-government bodies elected include senior officers of student groups, class officers, department and university self-government councils with their chairpersons, and the dormitory and housing-projects councils together with their presidiums. Chairpersons of student groups are elected at group meetings and subsequently elect the class president from among themselves. A meeting of day-class presidents and the representative of evening-class working students establishes the department council of the student self-government. That council, in its turn, elects its chairperson from among its members.

Evening-class working students also elect their own class presidents, who, in their turn, elect their representative to the department and university councils of student self-government.

The university student representation, or the university student self-government council, includes chairpersons of the department councils of student self-government, the representative of student dormitory self-government to the Senate and the representative of working students. The university student council elects from among its members the chairperson, who, following his election, relinquishes any other duties or offices held in student self-government bodies.

At every level of its operation, self-government implements the tasks of representing the interests of students before the authorities of the higher educational institutions. Thus, the chairperson of a student group submits proposals concerning the organization and practice of the instructional process and the granting of awards and distinctions to academically excelling students. He participates in the scheduling of instructional activities and examination sessions, takes part -- upon the proposal of the concerned parties -- in commission examinations, and issues opinions on students' applications for material assistance. In his work the chairperson guides himself by the recommendations and opinions of his student group, which he consults on his decisions.

Class presidents coordinate the activities of student group representatives, while the department student council issues opinions on draft department decisions that concern matters relating to the educational and instructional process as well as to student life. The tasks of this council also include issuing opinions on the department's program of educational activities, the schedule of activities and the examination schedule, as well as the organization of contests for the top student of the department.

The university student council coordinates the activities of student self-government bodies at the higher educational institution and, in addition to its tasks ensuing from this function, it drafts the bylaws of student self-government. It also attends to allocating the school funds earmarked for student needs and cooperates in determining the rules for financing student academic movement. Furthermore, the council nominates students for membership in the disciplinary commission and the commission for appeals and issues opinions on the rules for granting awards for academic distinction. It also issues opinions on the school's draft educational curriculums.

Somewhat different tasks are implemented by the student dormitory council. Representing before the school administration the students living in the dormitory, it opines on the draft budget and financial-material needs of the dormitory and intercedes with the school administration for improvements in the condition and facilities of the dormitory. It also organizes social life within the dormitory. It co-decides on the dormitory regulations fixed by the rector, and it also issues opinions on the educational activities conducted within the dormitory. In cooperation with student and youth organizations, this council initiates cultural, tourist and sports activities, and it also organizes social work on behalf of the dormitory.

Representatives of the national student and youth organizations active at the institution of higher education as well as its rector or his representative are invited to every meeting of the department and university student councils.

At institutions of higher education that include not more than three academic departments, the student self-government council consists of class presidents and a representative of the working students. At single-department institutions of higher education the department student council operates at the same time in the capacity of the university student council.

The official term of student self-government bodies is 1 year, beginning 1 November, but in justified cases it may be prolonged, though for no longer than 2 years.

At higher educational institutions a peer court of student self-government and a peer court of appeals are established.

Student self-government may not engage in financial, business and publishing activities, and it may not establish or supervise cultural, sports, tourist or academic agendas and student radio stations.

Labor Weekly Supports Student Self-Government

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish 29 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Robert Zebrowski: "Polite or Defiant"]

[Text] "Make trouble for us. Don't be passive conformists". From the vantage-point of 4 years, this dictum of the ex-rector of Warsaw University Henryk Samsonowicz sounds perplexing. Appeals for activism and an uncompromising stance have since then become offset with appeals for reason and deliberation.

There were reasons for this, because the 4-week strike in 1981 and the 2-month hiatus in studies did not contribute to stabilizing and ordering student life. As is probably natural, the university had always been a place for ardent discussions, a forum for clashing views and rationales, not only scientific ones. Nearly 25,000 young people who had, owing to their knowledge and

intelligence, achieved the appellation of university students, tried to introduce in their lives some order based on principles that could be acceptable to them. Hence, the year 1982 brought new discussions of student self-government, which gained the ministry's "stamp of approval."

At many departments students elected self-government bodies. At others such structures were merely termed "representations" of the student community, since it was thought that under the then mandatory emergency legislation using the term "self-government" was improper. The 1982/1983 academic year convinced a majority of students that self-government, as called by its proper name, is needed.

In the following academic year self-governments existed at every department, and all-school student representations also arose. The idea of self-government was accepted by an overwhelming majority of students, as confirmed by the high attendance -- about 70 percent -- at meetings to elect student representatives. Statutes of self-government as well as of the university itself, granting wide powers to all representative bodies, were approved.

Slowly, it began to be believed that one's views could be voiced publicly, that students could co-decide on curriculums and stipend allocations. evaluate their teachers and, lastly, be present, as the rising generation of the intelligentsia, in the nation's social and political life, take a position on important issues. The so-called defense of student interests began to function at the level of departments and entire universities.

The Myth of the Incendiary

Pursuant to the statutes mandatory at Warsaw University, all students constitute self-government themselves. How has this been accomplished in practice? The basis for the activities of self-governments is the elections conducted at the 22 departments of the University, at which boards of department self-government are elected, with the members of these boards becoming members of department councils, the Warsaw University Student Representation and the Senate. The elections always are equal, direct and based on secret balloting. The candidates for "officers" are nominated by the minimum number of persons required in the statute (most often 10-20) and present their programs of action to all students at a given department, who then choose among them. An officer who does not meet the expectations may be recalled by the voters. The term of office is 1 year.

We often hear comments to the effect that student self-government at Warsaw University represents forces hostile to our system of society and Poland, that it includes political incendiaries who generate conflict situations and exploit naive and politically unaware average students. It is a fact that it would have been better for the good of the state if certain "declarations" by the University Student Representation had not been issued, if certain problems had not been discussed too publicly. The lack of political experience is making itself felt. But one question has to be cleared up: whence come the incendiaries in self-government? The elections are a rather thorough screening process. For getting elected does not hinge on the candidate's program of action alone; the voters are personally acquainted with the

candidates and know a great deal about what they say and do and what their views are. And they elect those who are best for them, because this is in their own interest. Thus, in searching for incendiaries in self-government, we are dealing a direct blow to the University, because we have to assume that they are being deliberately elected by the students, and by the same token we identify students with oppositionists. Now that is an extremely menacing oversimplification.

It is obvious that not all comments by student "self-governors" should be praised to the skies. It is good that at times they meet with sharp and conscientious criticism. Let it also be properly borne in mind that the Warsaw University Student Representation is a kind of student parliament, and that in debating that parliament we are indirectly debating those who elected it. If discussion is supplanted with commands, if comments are criticized without considering the intentions of speakers, a well-known psychological law will begin to operate: aggression engenders aggression. This escalation of conflicts can be stopped only by the politically more aware party, the party which is better-oriented as to what is the authentic good of the state.

Opportunism Menaces Democracy

Student representatives change each year. If some are re-elected, that is because their activities suit the voters. This is logical, if the votes are cast hopefully. But votes can be cast in various ways: hopefully or resignedly. For 3 years I exercised various offices in student self-government. I know how difficult it is sometimes to convince people to hope that their representatives are genuinely capable of helping them and saying on their behalf what is close to the heart of all. The greatest enemy of democracy is opportunism. If students vote in the belief that "nothing will be changed anyway," this of course affords a chance to careerists and wily political gamblers. Then self-government becomes pointless, since it is not wanted by those who constitute it.

We are in a state of anxiety while awaiting the beginning of the new academic year. How will students respond to the revisions of the decree on higher education announced last July, considering that these revisions largely pertain to student self-government? But the anxiety felt by those who are accustomed to sniff out political adventures and magnify with revulsion or gratification the rather quiet voices of the extreme opposition is different from that felt by those who are familiar with university life from inside and are aware of the recent dangers harbored by periods of change.

The anxiety felt by the former group, that is, by the seekers after sensationalism, is besides groundless: for the decree [on restricting academic freedoms] was revised in order to tie the hands of the opposition to our system of society and to imbue the higher educational institutions with a nature consonant with the interests of the state. It provides for sanctions against those who are not in accord with this. And as for those who dread disturbances inspired from without, they again make the mistake of identifying students with oppositionists. Let us bear in mind that this generation of students is the best-educated ever in our country and that, if we ascribe

political ignorance to them, by the same token we negate nearly all the achievements of the Polish educational system in recent years.

The anxiety felt by the latter group is much stronger. Within the student community, faith in the possibility of action and in the sincerity of intentions of the authorities, as well as a feeling of academic and social freedom, have been very slow in getting reborn. Residues of mistrust in any change still survive to this day, however. The student community is uncertain of its status in the society; some feel unneeded, and here much of the fault belongs to those who, owing to their precipitate attacks, often directed against unspecified enemies, pointed to some illusory boundary line between the working class and the intelligentsia. No one is studying for his own sake alone. Persons with a Master's degree are just as needed as miners or metalworkers. Unless university graduates become opportunists and conformists. Unless, while studying, they learn to turn their back to important and difficult problems, to ignore inaccuracies and distortions, to cushion their own careers, to sit still, feign loyalty and survive by writing graffiti on the doors of public toilets.

The current student generation has experienced many shocks: August 1980 [Solidarity] and December 1981 [martial law]; it began to be politically minded once the crises of the years 1956, 1968 and 1970 were summed up. This generation looks simultaneously at everyone's mouth and hands. And much hinges on it. Hence, all measures taken with respect to students matter to the society. The efforts at difficult discussion have a chance to bear fruit in the form of the attitudes of teachers, section heads, scientists and public activists. Facile and showy criticism will merely result in unwillingness to respond and escape from social intercourse.

It is very difficult to say, "Make trouble for us." It is difficult, but sometimes necessary.

Youth Apathy, Ambition Roundtable

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish 1 Sep 85 pp 1, 6, 7

[Panel discussion, recorded by Mieczysław Komuda: "Intergenerational Struggle or Generational Succession? Editorial Discussion"]

[Excerpts] Are they naive, helpless and a lost generation?

Are they egocentric, troublemaking, irrational?

Are they badly off, or do they live better than their parents?

Do they avail themselves of the experience of the older generations, or are they taking their own road?

Are they willing to make sacrifices, or are they materialistically minded?

The condition of young Poles was discussed by: Prof. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, sociologist and social activist; Jerzy Grzybczak, editor-in-chief of the weekly ORODZENIE; Krzysztof Kubera, chairman of the National Youth Council for Power Industry and Mining under the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]; and the journalists Maria Maciejewska, Mieczyslaw Komuda and Boguslaw Szostkiewicz.

J. Grzybczak: At many meetings that we attend, voices are raised expressing dismay because the young are not taking a very active part in the country's social life and are unwilling to accept their share of responsibility for rescuing the country from the crisis, and also because they demand a lot but give little. In such discussions people tend to reminisce about the immediate postwar period, when we had been dealing with extraordinary enthusiasm on the part of, primarily, young people, and it is said in an overtone of reproach that the current generation is incapable of making sacrifices, incapable of the self-abnegation and hard work needed in Poland's present-day situation.

On the other hand, youth has grievances against the authorities, because they are blind to its problems, and against parents, because they do not attend to raising youth and care little about its life; and against the school as well, because it has become self-contained as it were, with the teachers focusing on teaching the curriculum without attempting to understand the problems agitating the rising generation. Thus if young and old people sit down in the same room, it turns out that they can find no common language.

The PRON [Patriotic Movement for Poland's Rebirth] is definitely a movement of older people. This ensues from the fact that it was chiefly the richly experienced individuals who responded to the appeal of the signatories. Youth, which in that period was not unconcerned -- let us bear in mind that martial law applied at that time -- and held views other than the officially proclaimed ones, did not explicitly support the PRON's program. Despite the existence of all kinds of forums and clubs for discussion within the framework of the PRON and many other institutional forms supposed to promote youth activism, we are still dealing with only limited participation of youth in that movement and, more broadly, in the country's public and government life.

For these reasons, among others, we of the editorial board of this weekly wish to pay serious attention to the problems of youth and in the future to consider them more extensively. We begin with this discussion, of which Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz has consented to be the moderator.

M. Kozakiewicz: I suggest that we focus on two problems; first, on finding an answer to the question of what are we dealing with in Poland at present, intergenerational conflict or a generational succession? And hence, are we dealing with a fundamental opposition between the old and the young or perhaps with some other form of continuation of generational experiences? The other problem, which in my opinion is a crucial one, is that of pessimism and optimism when evaluating youth. The comments by the editor-in-chief were on the whole pessimistically colored. I in my latest book, "Mlodzi w okresie przelomu" [Youth in Times of Upheaval], dealing with the role played by youth in the last 5 years, demonstrate that in Poland there have always existed two

ways of viewing youth: ostentatious and optimistic evaluations and much more critical evaluations formulated at closed sessions.

I believe that at the outset it is worth noting that there is no country, nor political party, nor religious organization, to which what is happening to youth is a matter of indifference. All fairly extensive institutions, especially those responsible for the condition of the state and the development of its society, should be deeply concerned about having the successive generations identify themselves with the achievements of the preceding generations and be prone to continue the values inscribed in the institutional premises of the state, in the moral code -- values contained in the ideas of political parties or in the worldview of a particular religious doctrine or denomination. Hence also any manifestation of apathy or rejection by youth of the values essential to a given organization is bound to evoke deep anxiety. A state that has forfeited the trust of youth, and whose youth has lost faith, is bound to experience within 15 or so years a deep structural crisis -- for it is losing those who, by the nature of things, are going to steer the ship of state in the future. Hence the struggle for youth is a struggle for the future of the state, the party, the church, and any other organization in a given society. This is one consideration.

Another consideration is that youth is no fixed category. Please consider that the 5 years that elapsed since 1980 do not mean much to adults. We adults during those 5 years at most enriched our experience in some way -- experienced some disappointments. But as for those whom we had at the time called the young and who had been the most active at the universities and founded the Independent Students' Union, they have now completed their studies and are gainfully employed. Lastly, present-day university students were 14 years old when August 1980 [Solidarity] broke out. As for the secondary schools, the situation is different also. Consider that it was precisely the students at secondary vocational and academic schools who had been unusually active politically, especially after martial law was imposed. Photographs of street riots in our cities showed protesting teenagers. The present-day students of secondary vocational and academic schools had been 11 then. Hence, the youth whom we studied 5 years ago is not the youth we are dealing with now. Time passes.

Now in the light of studies being conducted in Poland at present (although unfortunately they are not published), it ensues that the aggressiveness of youth has declined -- not only that aggressiveness and activism which manifested itself in street demonstrations but also aggressiveness of attitude and judgment. The mood of youth is becalmed. Its views are increasingly balanced, particularly its views on the dramatic events of 1981. However, it is a disturbing fact that these more balanced judgments are not being accompanied by the desire to actively participate in the country's sociopolitical life. This fact is confirmed by, e. g., the stagnation in the membership of youth organizations. They lost nearly one-half of their membership and nowadays they are rebuilding it very sluggishly. This is good, on the one hand, because it means that the organizations are not resorting to force, to artificial methods of recruitment, but on the other it means, of course, that among youth there exist psychological barriers and impediments which prevent it from joining the organizations. This is of course cause for

concern to both the educational and the political authorities. For as a result of the overwhelming desire to absolutely calm the mood of youth we may cause its absolute apoliticization -- the withdrawal of youth from public affairs.

M. Komuda: I think that the apoliticization of youth that you mentioned is not a phenomenon characteristic of Poland alone. Similar trends occur in many European countries, and not just in them alone. I believe that this attitude is influenced by deeper phenomena linked to, e.g., the fact that we are living in the so-called transition era. I agree that the experiences of recent years, the experiences of Poles, are a definite factor in this. Whatever else may be said of the political events of the early 1980s, one thing is certain: they resulted in an accelerated education of the entire society, and of the rising generations in particular. This education has resulted in the revaluation of judgment on the system of society operating in this country, and it has also drawn attention to broader, global problems relating to the civilizational stage and the processes occurring worldwide. It appears that young people have benefited most from this education and drawn from it the most correct conclusions. After years of feigning moral and political unity of the nation and building upon this slogan the authority of the older generations, it became clear to the young that there are no absolute truths, that the older generation is not monolithic, that competing views exist, that everyone is on his own. The atomization of the Polish society which manifested itself in the early 1980's also applies to youth. In Poland, as in other countries of our cultural area, nowadays generations live not with each other but beside each other. In my opinion, we're too prone to speak of generational continuity, particularly in the context of great national issues. Even now the generation of people in their forties lacks experience linked to World War II and isn't used to treating one's own life as a tool by means of which such great issues as the existence or non-existence of one's own nation can be influenced.

M. Kozakiewicz: I agree that the trends we discuss exist throughout Europe... despite my conviction that our crisis is exceptional, severe and complex, similar manifestations have been observed in the West as well. This concerns precisely the depoliticization, privatization of life -- confining one's interests to one's own problems alone; this concerns the gradual disappearance of vanguardism and the universal growth of conservatism.

Given the threat of unemployment, given the nostalgia for the good old times of the land of plenty (this is difficult to believe in Poland, but the land-of-plenty philosophy has indeed collapsed in the West), as in any other difficult situation, a return to conservatism has set in. This is an extremely dangerous trend, because any crisis situation, any difficulty, prompts attributing its cause to innovations, to all kinds of risky experiments. This simply nourishes fascist tendencies and results in the digging up and artificial idolization of "strong men" such as Hitler, Salazar, Franco or Mussolini. In our own country one reason for the Pilsudski cult was the belief in the need for a strong man, a man who would bring order. It seems to me that the perils harbored in conservative attitudes are very real.

In my opinion, in Poland, too, we are dealing with conservatism, and of a certainty with a retreat from certain ideas which until recently had been regarded as elements of change, factors in progress. In our country the

ideological and philosophical crisis manifests itself chiefly in the renaissance of religion. We observe this renaissance even in milieux that had previously been extremely secularized. While the West is reaching to all sorts of sects and pseudoreligions, we are turning to the great classical religion -- Catholicism. But the mechanism of this turnabout is similar.

As regards Pilsudski, we must realize that to many young people he was the symbol of not only a strong man but also a man who, many believe, secured genuine independence for Poland and subsequently became the embodiment of certain longings and virtues.

I believe that it would be hard to deny that our crises, beginning with the economic one, are largely reflections of processes occurring elsewhere in Europe. I am deeply convinced that the world as a whole is at present negotiating a sharp curve. All ideologies, beginning with the liberal-bourgeois and liberal-democratic ones and ending with the socialist, are facing the need to adapt themselves to a new world, to changed conditions. One institution that has changed itself in time as needed is the Catholic Church.... However, many ideologies are experiencing a crisis, because they provide no answer to the crucial questions arising in connection with totally new phenomena such as the nuclear threat, environmental pollution, the technological revolution, etc.

Speaking of the crisis of ideologies, let us consider our own backyard. I have already stated many times that the sociopolitical crisis is linked to the impossibility of accepting the opposition. Yet the opposition is a fact, and conclusions have to be drawn from it.... according to the dogma and schema of our system, a single youth organization should operate in Poland. Yet we have always had several youth organizations, and this reflects the specific nature of our social life. At present, moreover, given the difficulties being experienced by youth organizations, this dogma should be demolished. I believe that more youth organizations should be established, so as to provide an outlet for utilizing the energy of youth in a most realistic manner consonant with the internal differentiation of the rising generation....

M. Komuda: ... I'd prefer to speak of the activism of the rising generakon -- of occupational and cultural activism, activism that is a derivative of the operation of economic mechanisms, for example. Great religions and great doctrines may undergo crises, but one has to live. I believe that Polish youth views many issues very soberly. When in 1982, following the imposition of martial law, it was "not seemly" to appear on TV and many singers began to boycott that medium, a veritable explosion of youth rock ensembles occurred on TV.... What does it mean? It means that ideologies and political stances are relegated to a secondary plane compared with the chance to further one's career, to win popularity... From this fact far-reaching conclusions may be inferred.

M. Kozakiewicz: Of course, the activism of youth need not manifest itself in the political sphere. I'm convinced that the explosion of rock music and the rise of various alternative styles and forms of life are proofs of the dynamism of youth. But so far as inferring correct conclusions is concerned, let me draw attention to the fact that youth has turned away from learning the

professions leading to so-called good posts. Nowadays it is the humanities that are popular among students -- even teacher training is undergoing a renaissance. Young people want to study and regard study as a form of activity, a way of life, and even a way of prolonging youth. Observations indicate that, owing to the crisis, youth is concluding that a distinction should be made between sources of income and sources of pleasure. Young people learn particular professions and occupations in order to support themselves properly, and thereupon opt to study in order to participate in the country's cultural life. For similar reasons, young people with a higher educational background abandon their previous jobs and become private entrepreneurs. This is not conduct that can be unambiguously condemned. In the present situation, this is logical conduct. After all, the conduct of youth mirrors the reality. The fault is that of the reality and not of youth. The same can be said of the issue of seasonal work. When a young person goes to a peasant's farm and works there like a horse 12 hours daily for 2 or 3 months and earns 200,000 zlotys during the season in order to live on that money for the remainder of the year, he can't be called a parasite. He is simply intelligent. He has figured out that, given the wage-price ratio mandatory in our country, in Poland it does not pay to sell one's work time, but it pays to sell one's labor and its fruits. Any claims against youth regarding this matter are nonsense. Once we establish rational wage relations, this problem will disappear. A stupid economy generates parasites, just as medicine has created the category of sick people and the Church the category of sinners.

Besides, a similar trend exists in the West as well. There, too, avoidance of work is observed despite the existing unemployment. This is not a paradox.... of course, it is the boring, stupid and ill-paid jobs that are being avoided. One more thing: in the West many children of intelligentsia families engage in mass self-degradation. They don't study but become nurses, carpenters, sales personnel. To their parents this is a tragedy. But the children themselves believe that they'll earn just as much and that their jobs will be more secure. I haven't yet observed this trend in Poland.

M. Maciejewska: The tendency toward self-degradation is also observable here in Poland, because in Poland there exists the magic of the scrap of paper, the magic of the diploma. And since young people dread situations in which a garbageman would have to have a Master's degree, they attend studies but, once they graduate, they secrete their diplomas in drawers and open coffeehouses or boutiques. They do so because they're aware that without money they will be unable to translate into reality their intellectual ambitions....

Those young people who back away from this practice, from this sequence, emigrate to the West. Both groups of youth believe that in Poland they can't achieve their academic and professional ambitions. This attitude didn't make itself felt only in the last 3-4 years but rather it made itself felt already in the prosperous 1970's, when many young capable people emigrated; such people continue to emigrate.

M. Kozakiewicz: Correction, please. It is true that many gifted young people emigrated out of precisely these motives, but it also is true that they account for a small proportion of the total number of those emigrating. I agree that in this country extremely gifted young people are facing the

decline of research facilities, shortages of various reagents and apparatus, and that they cannot accomplish anything substantive, because they aren't provided with the proper conditions. Not all of them are poets for whom it's enough to have a pencil, a sheet of paper and a nightingale singing outside the window.

M. Maciejewska: The rejection of higher education also occurs because the parents of the young people whom we are discussing today lack the financial resources that had been available to our parents. My parents were able to tell me to go ahead and study with their financial backing and support. But my own financial situation is much worse -- I can no longer say the same thing to my own children.

J. Grzybczak: Youth can't be reproached for lacking ambition, because it lacks financial support. My generation was in a like situation and gained its education with the help of the state and the youth organizations. My generation had the ambition to be somebody....

But isn't this also a question of idealism? Of lack of faith? Unless there's faith that we have something great to accomplish in the land between the Odra and the Vistula, we shall not move from the spot. We must thus consider what to do in order that the rising generation of Poles apprehend the reality.

M. Komuda: A fundamental problem is filling the paralyzing and continually growing civilizational gap between Poland and West Europe. After all, ambitious people -- and the young are ambitious -- use the best as the standard of comparison. The rising generation of Poles is burdened by the syndrome of provincialism, which anyway, to be sure, as always been our concomitant. We have always lagged behind the processes occurring in Europe.... It was only right after the war, and for a very short period of time at that, that the conviction reigned that we had an opportunity to break with this tradition.... at the time this new and previously unknown political system in Poland had promised rapid and effective economic measures. All this, taken together, afforded a chance for not only bringing life into order but also catching up with the civilizational lag. Such hopes were fanned by the official propaganda. After 40 years we awakened to find ourselves lagging far behind not only Europe but the world, because Europe itself has lost its status of the Rome of our times. Thus old complexes have come alive again.

Hence, the young Pole feels frustrated for at least two reasons: As a European, he feels anxious about the civilizational crisis; ...he also experiences anxiety linked to his awareness of living in a backwater, on the periphery, and the daily wastage of opportunities.... The young Pole realizes that negative phenomena occur in the West, but he also is aware that the organization of life in which he functions is not an alternative in the eyes of Western youth. He would like to do something that counts, compete with his peers, but instead he faces the wall of economic nonsense, of bureaucratic structures, and hears declarations which he doesn't understand.... You were speaking of emigration. I believe that each and everyone of these young emigrants had first tried to realize his dreams in Poland.

M. Kozakiewicz: But let's not conclude that Polish youth is totally frustrated and paralyzed.... There's no doubt... that, were today a situation arise demanding a greater demonstration of patriotism and active defense of an imperiled national existence, the attitude of present-day youth would be in no way worse than the attitude of the young part of the older generations.

I'm not merely saying this on faith. Here are the proofs. Youth has already been repeatedly accused of consumerist attitudes. In 1965-1966 the so-called small stabilization, then popular among youth, was criticized, and youth itself was criticized for its apolitical attitude, its desire for a comfortable nook and a scooter. Prior to the 1968 Congress of the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], POLITYKA had published a lengthy article on small stabilization which demanded that the ZMS "rectify" youth -- that youth to which nothing mattered except money. Yet barely 3 months later there occurred the student rebellion. Nearly all of the rebels' demands concerned freedom of speech and democratic liberties rather than materialist issues. It was then that truth about youth made itself known. In the early 1970's I had personally taken part in discussions during which our youth was accused of being youth of the consumerist era with purely consumerist attitudes. Well, the year 1980 [the outbreak of Solidarity] was the work of youth.

Despite all its faults, this movement [Solidarity] was a just one and began with correct slogans, demanding reforms -- and these demands have remained topical to this day. Suddenly, [youth] demonstrated spontaneity, commitment, organizational ability and devotion -- in a word, the fundamental issue so far as the conduct of youth is concerned is bringing to light what is deep-rooted, creating authentic situations rather than situations artificially conceived by politicians and television. Let us then engage in genuine and honest renewal. Let us not observe youth under artificial conditions. Youth has its own defense mechanisms. I've never at any moment in my life doubted in youth. Perhaps because that would be tantamount to suicide. I believe that Polish youth is wise, moral and reflective, and that the trends which we observe and which disturb us are a form of youth's self-defense against the stupidity of the world.

B. Szostkiewicz: ... in the 1970's the influence of youth on political decisions was extremely limited. Very few representatives of youth functioned in government structures. In the 1970's we had political stabilization and the energy of youth manifested itself chiefly in accumulating material goods. When the economic boom collapsed, a certain model of life also collapsed and this resulted in bitterness. An adult is resistant to such shocks, but to a young man this is a very traumatic experience, for then his entire world collapses. Hence, in Solidarity times, on one side sat the representatives of the government and on the other very young people.

M. Kozakiewicz: In support of your thesis I can say that at the First National Congress of Solidarity the average age of the elected members of the National Commission was 33.9 years. The youngest elected member was 27 and the oldest 46.

But let's leave the issues of several years ago behind us. Let's try to return to the realities of present-day life. Few young people are interested in

politics nowadays. Thus nowadays the point is not political activism but several literally elementary issues, namely, accepting and acknowledging one's own state and only that state as the place where one wants to live, which one trusts and which safeguards one's further development (and in its turn our work safeguards the development of that state). I would consider the next issue to be the acceptance of the premises of our system of society, but that's a completely different matter and here one cannot demand of all citizens that they accept these premises. This is particularly difficult in a country that is said to be Catholic. There exist certain opposed values and philosophical premises, but there also exists an extensive domain of mutual consensus.

I believe that what I had once termed in one of my books the attitude of practical Marxism would suffice -- meaning the acceptance of some four or five fundamental facts postulated in the Constitution that define the nature of the socialist state and make possible the exploration of new implementational forms, forms that would correspond to the uniqueness of our nation.

Now what's it that repels youth about youth organizations? Precisely their desire to gain absolute adherents of the entirety of the assumptions of our system of society. Young people feel a need to belong to some organization. This makes possible meeting their needs for personal growth, exercise of various hobbies, and organized action -- but they don't want to be "processed into ideologues." This is natural. Young people at age 16-18 enjoy greatly belonging to an organized group but don't want the organization to monopolize all elements of their personality, their way of thinking, their views, etc. Yet, youth organizations very explicitly stress their worldview and ideological-political nature. So long as they act in a society as pluralistic as ours, they will always attract only part of youth.

M. Komuda: Our discussion continually reverts to the topic of youth organizations.... But let's try to... draw attention to the characteristics of youth. These characteristics include radicalism of views, impatience, glorification of success. It's a privilege of youth to view the world sharply, to see everything as either black or white. It may be that one reason for the frustrations felt by youth is the prolonged absence of economic, scientific and industrial successes.

K. Kubera: Orientation toward success? Sure. Youth is success-oriented. But can we say that older people are not success-oriented? That they achieved success and will not let themselves be deprived of it?

M. Komuda: I was speaking of the success of the economy and the state rather than of the material success of individuals.

M. Kozakiewicz: Can these kinds of success be separated? It used to be thought that if the state is flourishing then the citizens should be happy -- despite belt-tightening. I believe that this was good in the first years after the revolution, when the country was devastated and people saw how little could be demanded. Success of the state that is not accompanied by a feeling of success among a majority of citizens is no success at all. This is a basic issue; this can't happen at the expense of citizens.

M. Komuda: Agreed. Except that nowadays the state is ailing with lack of success and the citizens don't feel too pampered.

M. Kozakiewicz: You stated at the outset that youth lacks experience relating to armed struggle. I believe that the 40 peacetime years have greatly complicated the raising of youth. This is a dramatic and mordant irony. No catastrophe has, thank God, automatically facilitated achieving our goals in life, hierarchy of values, etc. My generation in, e.g., 1945, felt no uncertainty about how to proceed and what to do -- although it is untrue, contrary to what some claim, that in 1945 the entire nation had enthusiastically supported the new system of society. The communists received little support. After all there was an extremely bloody civil war. But everyone understood that somebody had to steer the state, that this country had to be resurrected from ashes. Every newly erected house was an argument in favor of communists -- because they did it rapidly and effectively. But there was no great political enthusiasm and youth organizations had hardly any large membership.

J. Grzybczak: For what counts is not numbers. Let me draw your attention to the phenomenon of WICI [a weekly that used to be published in 1944-1948 by the Rural Youth Union].... Although that organization had at its peak not more than 100,000 members, it exerted a tremendous influence on everything happening in the overpopulated Polish countryside. Thus what matters is not membership size and the mass nature of artificially formed organizations....In the 1970's youth supported the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] en masse.

M. Komuda: Because it believed in the success of the economy.

J. Grzybczak: Yes, the accomplishments were tangible; the country was open and passports were being issued. Young Poles roamed through Europe and the entire world. Suddenly, it was all over. A mood of embitterment set in, and that's why the movement for renewal was undoubtedly a movement of the young.

Generational conflict or generational continuity? Youth has always been the subject of complaints, and nearly always youth has been criticizing the older generation.... we must speak of a lack of mutual understanding which ensues from, e.g., a different way of viewing reality, different contents of the baggage of experience. Each new generation wants to make its own contribution.... Nowadays also we're witnessing discussions in which previous generations boast of their accomplishments during, e.g., the 6-Year Plan period. We're dealing with an idealization of that past. The efforts made in those times are unquestionable, but let's not exaggerate: that activism varied depending on the individual. Nowadays we know that not all who had then been active were awarded medals for true merit.

M. Kozakiewicz: I think that it's dangerous, as part of that idealization of the past, to revert to the organizational mechanisms and forms then experimented with.

J. Grzybaczak: But at present I feel something is lacking: the ideas of self-reliance and comradeship, all those traits that had saturated the Polish Youth Union [ZMP], are lacking. Perhaps saturated too much, because at schools and higher educational institutions young people from families belonging to the wrong classes used to be removed from membership in the ZMP, let alone the fact that in those times questions of who was sleeping with whom were publicly discussed. Still, in the event of troubles, problems, accidents of fate, people helped each other. And nowadays what's happening? Nowadays, unless one's parents help out, the young person is left to his fate.

B. Szostkiewicz: Precisely. Nowadays young people sponge on their parents. Parents help them buy and furnish an apartment and raise children. This conflicts with the claims of the existence of a generational conflict. On the contrary, we can speak of a symbiosis of generations dictated by necessity. I believe that generational conflict manifests itself only under certain circumstances, and lasts for a relatively short period of time. It happens when young people, by virtue of their youthful vigor, participate in certain events of a revolutionary nature, always wherever a sudden collapse of certain structures occurs.... when the time of stabilization sets in, stabilization of views also sets in.

M. Kozakiewicz: Young people are found wherever sudden changes occur, because their social status is still uncertain and they hold no important offices and lack jobs, apartments, families of their own and obligations -- all this makes them tremendously disposable, free, dynamic.

M. Maciejewska: They've nothing to lose.

K. Kubera: I would say that they still don't know what they have to lose. From the statistics on Solidarity quoted earlier here ensues that young people operated within it. Why? Because their elders had experienced the events of 1956 and the 1960's and knew how to conduct themselves. They knew that they'd achieve nothing. The only older people engaging in Solidarity activities were those who had wanted simply to direct and exploit the young.

M. Kozakiewicz: Based on data which I've been able to collect, I claim that these older individuals, who acted as advisers to Solidarity, could find no common language with the young. The leadership you refer to was absent, especially toward the end of the Union's [Solidarity's] existence. The young didn't listen to the advisers, who seemed to them too liberal, too moderate, too conciliatory.

I believe that this stage of the discussion can be ended with the conclusion that it is very bad when young people aren't opposed to anything, when they accept everything, accept the existing rules of the game, sheltering themselves behind the claim that one can't punch a hole in the wall with one's head. I also believe that it would be better for societal development and the dynamics of the state if the young were to rebel -- even if they were not always to rebel wisely and in a reasoned manner.

Given the characteristics mentioned earlier (black-and-white view of the world, radicalism, extremism), the young may become the motive power of progress and exert pressure on their elders.

Now as we've stated earlier, in Poland the political mood of youth milieux has become becalmed. We also stated that youth doesn't display activism in other ways either.

M. Komuda: Or perhaps youth is insufficiently terrified? Professor, you stated that sociopolitical relations are undergoing rapid changes in the world. We're aware that the pace of these changes is dictated by, among other things, new equipment and technologies, particularly by electronics, which has become the foundation of revolutionary changes. The spread of electronics in the life of society influences both the organization of productive forces (man stands beside productive processes) and social and sociological trends, culture and art. Electronics is creating new moral values. The societies whose material foundations become saturated with electronics will differ from present-day societies as much as societies before and after the construction of the network of railroads. However, railroads took tens of years to build, whereas the gap in this case will arise within a decade. Whoever [in Poland] is aware of the processes occurring throughout the world must feel terrified. Perhaps through the fault of the propaganda, because little is being said about these matters, our youth dreads insufficiently the growing gap between it and its peers from the Western countries. Even now an educated young man can travel abroad to any country and engage in a conversation with his colleague by profession. But there exists a danger that within 15 years this will no longer be possible. For there [in the West] education, work, and all related matters will become completely different.

Now since World War II was mentioned here, and regret was expressed because people in their forties were "robbed" of that experience, perhaps we can also accept the subversive thesis that a substitute for the fear, the feeling of danger and the need for self-sacrifice that are the concomitants of war should be the fear, the feeling of danger and the realization of the need for self-sacrifice in the battle for keeping Poland a European country in the civilizational meaning of the word. What else other than fear can be proposed to the young?

M. Kozakiewicz: We can say: Let's make a better world, a better country. Let's make a better socialism. And then youth will follow us.

M. Grzybczak: Let's then consider whether proper allowances for youth have been made in the programs for renewal.

M. Kozakiewicz: As for that, the situation unfortunately resembles attempts to squeeze a fruit into a bottle through a narrow bottleneck. It can't be done. Either the fruit has to be crushed or the neck of the bottle shattered. This concerns failure to adapt our offers to the aspirations of youth. Youth organizations are, whether through their own fault or not, organizations of adults for youth. I said, whether through their fault or not, because we all know about pressures exerted and the determination of priorities. It's youth itself that should determine the priorities.

K. Kubera: As for myself, it seems to me that youth is a mirror of parents and educators.... In the immediate postwar period there existed multigenerational families.... In the 1970's the situation was completely reversed. The generation raised by grandmothers, a relatively unambitious and unrapacious generation reached jobholding age.... it has no place to send its children to, because of the shortage of preschools and a level of social services that is so low that mothers have to go to work and their children are latchkey children.

Today's youth believes that no one can help it. In view of this, young people are oriented not toward consumerism but toward earning diplomas that assure a livelihood. In the Katowice and Krakow provinces the Mining and Metallurgical Academy received the largest number of applications for admission. There were few applicants for the fields of mathematics and physics....

To young people work and work alone matters most. They're unaware of what they lose by not belonging to organizations, and that's bad. Nowadays it is mostly the vanguard, which explicitly defines itself as the communist vanguard, that belongs to the organizations.

J. Grzybczak: But the point is precisely that people should declare their identity, declare themselves to be communists or democrats. Opportunism is to be condemned most.

K. Kubera: It was mentioned earlier here that the Church adapted itself most rapidly to the changed conditions. Most youth is nowadays interested in the actions of the Church. But what does the Church offer? It offers video programs, computers, gratis entertainment. What does the youth movement have, by contrast? It has what it gained by its own efforts. There exists the danger that, if no one supports youth organizations, there will be no one left to champion issues of concern to youth and in a few years youth may become lost -- and we again will have to deal with an explosion of discontent by the young.

M. Maciejewska: Well, what do the organizations have to offer?

K. Kubera: We don't confine ourselves to organizational matters alone. We conduct sports and cultural activities....

B. Szostkiewicz: The organizations are managed by a very small number of insiders.

K. Kubera: They aren't. The point is that a large number of young people are in advance negatively disposed toward the organizations. Those who should teach youth about the organizations do their teaching improperly.

J. Grzybczak: Or perhaps youth remembers its bad experience in the past. Perhaps it remembers the fact that the organizations have salaried rather than volunteer staffs, preclude authentic discussion and replace it with speeches declaimed from a card -- whether at a party congress or at a ZSMP congress, speeches ghostwritten by instructors from the main board, edited by the

secretary and then read by the branch chairman. Perhaps also youth remembers the pomposity of officialdom and, in a word, everything that caused the youth movement to lose its authenticity. Nowadays things are different, granted, but aren't the experiences of the past the reason why at present you don't have many enthusiasts for your organization?

K. Kubera: I believe that youth, and not only youth, will always be drawn toward those who are strong. The organization in the 1970's was strong, and so everyone wanted to join it -- not necessarily in order to be active in it and contribute to it but in expectation of assistance in job advancement, allocation of housing, etc.

M. Maciejewska: In a word, a majority of the people who joined the organizations in the 1970's did it simply for materialistic reasons, to feather their own nests somewhat. I believe that in the 1970's the idea and structure of the youth organizations became compromised, and that at present it is very difficult to remedy this entire situation. You continue to view the problem in terms of bribing youth. What attractive ideas have you to offer? Because if you're proposing sports and music then what kind of a political organization would that be?

K. Kubera: Of a certainty, we shall not create solely in order to teach consumerism. We're an organization for those who want to accomplish something, to change the reality. We took part in the campaign for elections to people's councils, and our ranks include quite a large number of young councilmen. Not because they had to become councilmen, but because they strived to. As for us, we strived to place them on the electoral lists.

Our program of action is based on the platform of the last party congress. Youth's opportunities for action nowadays are very considerable -- there are opportunities for advancement and finding well-paid jobs. All this, however, requires effort and faith in one's possibilities. Yet, despite the examples provided and the press campaigns, youth isn't drawing such conclusions. A simple example: at our mine some 15 jobs are vacant, because there are no applicants for them. At the same time, 30 employees with higher educational background are doing manual jobs. Why? Because they didn't believe.

M. Maciejewska: This isn't lack of faith in one's possibilities; this is lack of faith in self-fulfillment within the framework of the existing structures.

M. Kozakiewicz: Avoiding advancement and responsibility is also a characteristic of adults. Many of them believe that the situation is so hopeless that accepting greater responsibilities means simply hastening the day of a heart attack, and that even risking a heart attack will not accomplish anything in the present situation. This is a huge social problem because, the more complex the conditions are, the better the executives and managers should be. Yet, the best people refuse offers. They refuse them for various reasons, but underlying their decision is invariably the disappointment experienced in recent years.

J. Grzybaczak: Many of the negative trends which we're now discussing ensue also from the crisis of authority. In the immediate postwar period, owing to

mistakes and distortions, we demolished many recognized authorities without giving much in return. We lack continuity of power; we invariably condemn those who until recently ruled us. There are no youth leaders either.

M. Kozakiewicz. There are three kinds of authority, and youth's attitude toward them is highly differentiated. There are institutional authority, the authority of the expert and moral authority. Institutional authority should be exercised by, e.g., a teacher by virtue of his profession, a priest by virtue of being a chaplain, or a general because he commands the army. The authority of such people is linked to the institutions they represent. Now studies show that a great institutional authority in Poland is the Catholic Church led by its supreme head John Paul II. All the other kinds of authority have lost their cachet. The authority of the expert is represented by individuals who are "good" in some field.... Lastly, the third kind of authority -- the one which sorely lacking -- is moral authority, the authority of those who could suggest, advise, reassure.

I believe that youth can be reached by means of the authority of the expert and moral authority. Were the youth movement to consist of people who are respected for their competence and who at the same time provide moral role models, the opportunities for that movement would be great. For the demand for authority is tremendous, and when youth can't find genuine authority, it creates subculture idols.

Once again I say: let's accomplish a genuine renewal, keep promises, implement the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress and refrain from revising progressive decrees.

B. Szostkiewicz: ... If minimum conditions for an authentic participation of youth in the country's life are assured, youth will be activist...

M. Kozakiewicz: ... The point is that youth should not be impeded in manifesting what's best about it, and the youth problem can't be considered in isolation from the broader social background.

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CSO: 2600/134

SOVIET WOMEN COOPERATE IN LITERARY VENTURE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 5

[Passages in slantlines in boldface in text]

[Text] /The House of Soviet Science and Culture was on 3 October the site of a ceremonial summation of the results of the contest organized by the weekly PRZYJACIOLKA, the periodical of Soviet women SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA and the INTERPRESS Agency/. The contest, announced last December, and held under the slogan, "A Common Fate, a Common Struggle for Our Peaceful Home," was intended to spotlight in wartime reminiscences the fate and experiences of Polish and Soviet women who had, together with men, shared the hardships of the war while fighting in the ranks of the people's Polish Army and the Soviet Army. The jury singled out 10 memoirs, which were awarded prizes. The first prize -- a trip to the USSR -- was awarded to Maria Gajownik of Pasiek. The editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA Valentina Fedotova, who was present at the ceremony, spoke of the tremendous success of the Soviet counterpart of this contest. The Director of the Foreign Department under the PZPR Central Committee Wlodzimierz Natorf, who also attended the ceremony, thanked the initiators of this project on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee. Cordial congratulations were conveyed to those present by the Chairman of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Russian Friendship] Main Board Stanislaw Wronski. Also present was USSR Ambassador to Poland Aleksandr Aksenov.

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CSO: 2600/54

PZPR, CULTURAL MINISTRY CONFER ON PUBLISHING POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 p 8

[Passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] (Own information) /Under the direction of Eugeniusz Piliszek, the director of ARKAD, and with the participation of Witold Nawrocki, the director of the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and Stanislaw Zachariewicz, the vice minister of culture and art, the Team for Publishing Policy and Book Dissemination under the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee held a session/.

The team evaluated the draft assumptions of publishing policy for the years 1986-1990, on stressing /the unity of the principles of publishing policy and the assumptions of the party program/. The discussion also dealt with the complicated situation of the printing industry and the prospects for improving it with the necessary participation of the economic ministries. The present state of the printing industry is reflected in the abrupt decline of the share of the so-called hard covers to 7 percent from 19 percent of total production. This affects markedly the possibilities for meeting the demand of libraries as the principal users and circulators of books. /Library problems also were discussed in connection with the ongoing assessment of the draft list of titles to be acquired by public and factory libraries/.

Lists of this kind, useful to the practical operations of the library network, have played an important role during the period of the collapse of the publishing industry. Nowadays, longrange lists of this kind have to be prepared by publishers, librarians and bookstore operators. /Considerable attention was devoted to the share of native contemporary literature in the books to be published next year/. It will be higher than this year. /The discussion stressed the need for a thorough consideration of the ideological and artistic values of the proposed titles as well as of the scale of reader interest when drafting publishing plans/.

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CSO: 2600/54

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS NEEDED FOR NATION'S GROWTH

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Dr. Tadeusz Wujek of the University of Warsaw, vice chairman of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Educators: "How Long One Should Study"]

[Text] The development of modern civilization has caused an increase in the significance of adult education in the life of both individuals and society, since the rapid acceleration of the development of science, technology, and culture means that the preparation that a person received for life in society in his youth becomes almost anachronistic, and requires continual updating.

In this attempt by the adult to keep up with the pace of modern transformations, adult education comes to the rescue by making it possible to understand the essence of the changes occurring, and to adjust to new social and vocational roles. In almost every country, the extent of participation in adult education has grown considerably.

In People's Poland, during the years 1946-1982, the number of illiterates decreased from about 18 percent to 1 percent, and the number of people who did not complete elementary school declined from 68 percent to 8.8 percent. There was an increase in the percentage of people with an elementary education, from 24 to 44.6 percent, with a basic vocational education from 1.6 to 19.1 percent, with a secondary school education from 3.7 to 22.2 percent, and with a higher education, from 0.8 to 5.3 percent.

It should furthermore be emphasized that about 37 percent of the working population consists precisely of graduates of school forms of adult education.

The growth in the numerical scope of this type of education, however, has not proceeded uniformly, however, since it has had setbacks, especially in the 1970's, and declining trends occurred in our country during the years 1976-1982. The reasons for this situation differ; in Poland, along with the phenomena also occurring elsewhere in the world, they were mainly a consequence of socioeconomic difficulties, restrictions by industry upon its sponsorship of education, and a lack of sufficient incentives for increasing one's qualifications and knowledge. Close observation of the trends in the

development of adult education, however, permits the statement that the regression was transitional in nature.

This is because the country's economic development requires an influx of qualified personnel, capable of using new technologies, techniques, and equipment. And we have considerable requirements -- scarcely 28.3 percent of the workers have a secondary education, while in the meantime the modernization of production is giving rise to an increasingly greater need for this type of workers. Thus, objectively, the requirements of the economy, as well as the needs of social and cultural life, must cause a reversal in the hitherto unfavorable trends.

The proof of this may be the systematic increase in the participants in post-school adult education. In 1983, for the first time in the history of its activity, the Union of Institutions for Professional Improvement reached the number of 505,500 people trained; this was an increase of 25 percent in comparison with 1982. At the same time, the decline in the numbers of students in school adult education is currently less, and in the case of elementary schools for adults, in 1983 there was an increase in the number of participants.

Today in Poland the objective lack of a reserve labor force on the labor market, the desire to improve people's living conditions, and the increasing demographic explosion should bring about an increase in interest in adult education, including vocational education. Of the over 11 million people employed in the socialized economy, 35.2 percent have an elementary education. The proportion of workers with a basic vocational education increased during the years 1977-1983 from 20.9 percent to 24.2 percent, those with a secondary vocational education from 17.9 to 22.2 percent, and those with a higher education, from 6.7 percent to 8.9 percent. Furthermore, 6.1 percent of those employed had a secondary general education. The above state of affairs indicates both the progress made in raising the level of education, and the potential needs for adult education, bearing in mind the further development of the economy, its modernization, and the requirements of social life.

In light of these considerations, the question arises of how action should be taken to accelerate the favorable trends, and what should be done in order to overcome the still occurring regressive trends and ensure a correct development of adult education -- in the interest of social progress and satisfaction of the educational needs of the community.

The point of departure for answering such a question should be the statement that the correct development of education must be guaranteed by an appropriate educational policy. Furthermore, this development can only be the product of a joint effort by the state and society, central and local initiatives. The education ministry cannot be the only one responsible for it; other agencies of the state administration, sociopolitical organizations, trade unions, and education associations must also be involved. One should also emphasize the growing role of production enterprises in providing suitable funds for adult education, which is suffering from a chronic lack of these funds.

One should think about what changes in adult education should be considered as a result of social changes in recent years, and the implementation of the

economic reform. For example, in determining the modern content of this education, one should call attention to its educational tasks, including the clarification of many complex phenomena in our social life. The education of adults should also develop their interest in public affairs, and encourage them to participate actively in self-management.

The development of this field of education will also contribute to realization of the principle of social justice -- it will make access to education easier for people who did not fit into the conventional scope of the educational system, or for whom access to education was hindered, e.g. the rural population, seasonal workers, etc.

Another important matter is preservation of the infrastructure of adult education in work establishments. This would contribute to making personnel policy more efficient by creating incentives for undertaking studies, and at the same time it would ensure proper conditions for making it easier for workers to continue their studies, and thus to raise their qualifications.

One should also keep in mind general education for adults, so that it will not remain in the shadow of vocational education. An area of particular concern should be rural educational needs -- since the progress to date there is still unsatisfactory. Perhaps one should therefore organize multifunctional adult education centers in communes.

No less important a task is organizing a system of information and educational counseling for potential participants in urban areas. This type of activity would help to identify obstacles that hamper raising the level of education and qualifications.

We think that for proper coordination of the activities of different institutions and associations, the call of the ZG ZNP [Main Administration of the Polish Teachers' Union] for the establishment of a National Council on Adult Education under the Council of Ministers should be implemented. Another fundamental issue is working out an up-to-date legal basis for adult education, preceding it with an analysis of the state of affairs existing today. The basic legal document in force today, the 15 July 1961 Sejm law, covers adult education in an outdated manner, and at the same time does not take into account the specific features of the age of the students, treating them together with children and young people.

In conclusion, it is worth while to make the observation that the development of adult education, with all of its rich variety, must be planned, since it requires the determination of priorities in accordance with the needs of the state and society. Adult education should be financed both by the state and by industry, trade unions, and other organizations, and also by those who are seeking to raise their general or vocational level.

Organized forms of adult education constitute a basic element of continuing education, the importance of which is growing throughout the world. The development of this form of education contributes to the democratization of access to education and qualifications. The experiences of the past 40 years

show that investment in adult education is very profitable, creating important prerequisites for economic, social, and cultural progress.

One should therefore conclude that the upcoming meeting of the Central Committee devoted to national education will also discuss the situation and needs of this important part of it, thinking of the adults who seek greater knowledge and skills.

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